THE ANNUAL

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

No. XIX.

SESSION 1912–1913

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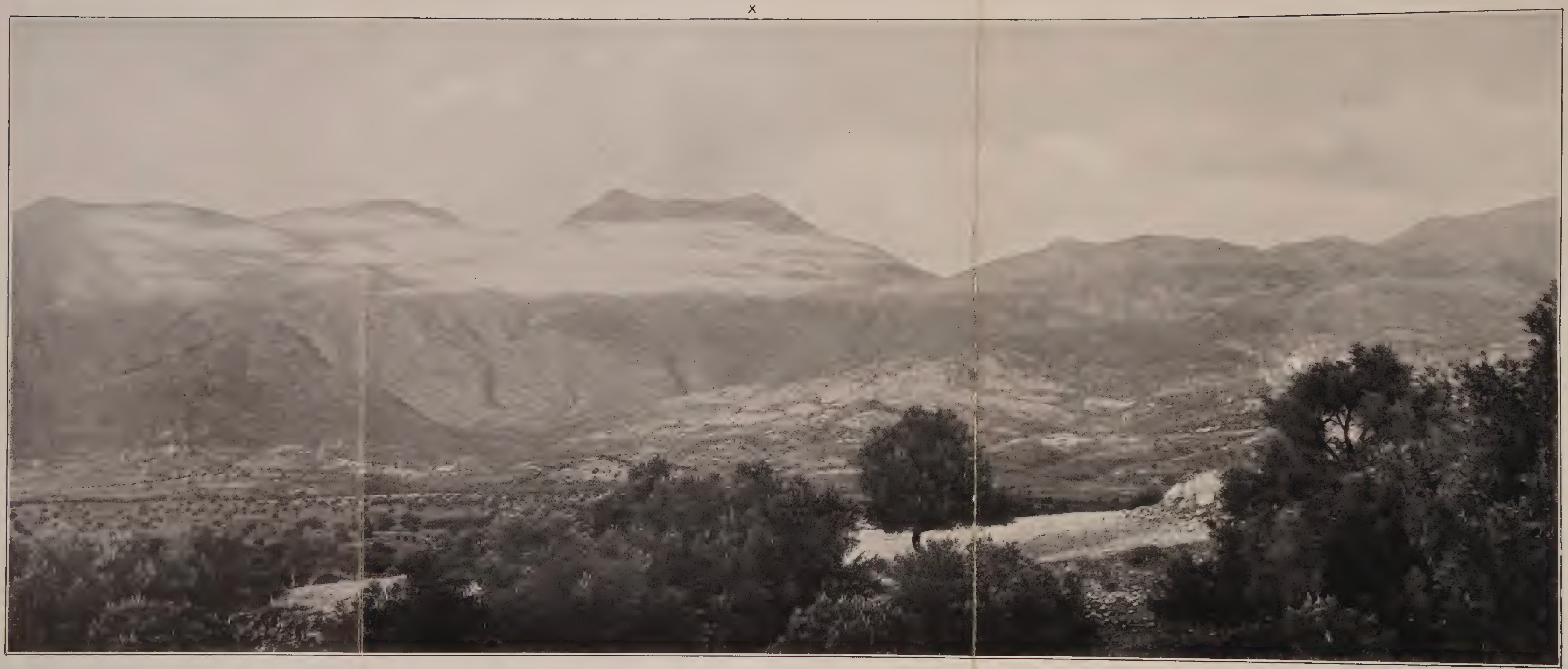

The Kamares Mountain from near Phaistos. (*From a Photograph by Monsieur Boissonat.*)

sonal.)

THE EXCAVATION OF THE KAMARES CAVE IN CRETE.

(PLATES I [*Frontispiece*]—XII.)

§ 1.—THE EXCAVATION.

THE Kamares cave on Mount Ida has been known now for more than twenty years as a prehistoric sanctuary, but its full excavation was only carried out in the summer of 1913 by a party from the British School, which thus resumed the work in Crete discontinued since Palaikastro gave way to Sparta in 1906. This early fame of the cave was due to the discovery in it in the early nineties of a number of vases and a few figurines, which Dr. Hazzidakis secured from the shepherd who had found them and placed in what was then the Museum of the Archaeological Syllogos at Candia. Some of the vases bear the marks of the rivets with which their peasant owner mended them.

The results of our excavation have so greatly supplemented this first instalment that the authorities of the Candia Museum have been able to do a great deal in the way of the reconstruction of vases, of which until now only small pieces were available, and these restorations have been put at our service for the photographs which accompany this report.

As soon as these vases were discovered they were at once recognised as belonging to a kind until then almost entirely unknown, and the name 'Kamares,' which was at once given to them, still remains current as a general description of that kind of Cretan pottery which has a black ground and white or polychrome ornament, although at the present stage of research rather as a convenient name for the technique than with any chronological meaning. For this purpose it has been superseded by the

Minoan terminology, and we are thus freed from the snare of using the same word for a technique and a period, particularly dangerous in this case, as the dark-on-light style was by no means unknown during the period when the Kamares ware was being made; a fact which the double use of the word was very apt to conceal. The overlapping of the two techniques (for although dark-on-light ware occurs at all times, still as a whole the ware of middle Minoan times is marked by the light-on-dark style, just as that of the late Minoan period is by the dark-on-light) was accurately foreseen by Sir Arthur Evans, who said as early as 1895 that 'the ceramic class here represented, though of archaic aspect, may slightly overlap the more purely Mycenaean pottery of the island.'[1]

The first find consisted of some twenty-four more or less complete vases and a number of sherds. They were published, largely in colours, by Myres in 1895[2] and by Mariani[3] in 1896. Of their character nothing more could then be said than that they were clearly Aegean, and that they bore some relation to the early vases from Thera with white paint on a dark ground.

This was in the middle nineties: the great number of Minoan sites examined since those early days of Cretan exploration have replaced this darkness by a flood of light on the date, relation and development of these vases, and the full excavation of the cave where they were first found was demanded not for the sake of obtaining more specimens of a fabric now known to be so common in Crete and to have been exported to so many foreign centres in Greece, Melos and even Egypt, but to throw some light on the nature of the remains in the cave itself.

Although these vases were so soon twice published, and with the interest taken from that time onwards in prehistoric Crete the name Kamares became so familiar, the cave itself has been very rarely visited. The only archaeological account of it is that of Taramelli, who explored it in the June of 1894.[4] In spite of the season he found the cave still much choked with snow, and it is clear that in most seasons this would be a great obstacle to excavation. In this however we were extremely fortunate: owing to a very mild winter we found the cave entirely free from snow, and even the inner grotto, where Taramelli found a pool of water, was quite dry. Indeed when I paid a preliminary visit to the cave in April, there was already less snow than Taramelli found two months later, and I remember that when I went to it for the first time in 1904 at the beginning of July, the snow inside had not yet entirely disappeared. The plan of the cave published by Taramelli seems to be no more than a very rough sketch; as a general impression it has its uses, but the proportions are entirely wrong, the inner being nearly as long as the outer cave. It is interesting to note that it is the dark parts of the cave of which he greatly exaggerates the size and tortuousness; the entrance to the inner grotto thus appears as a winding passage occupying nearly two-thirds of the whole length of the inner cave, instead of the comparatively simple affair that it really is. Nor did he at all realise the great width of the outer cave.

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[1] *Cretan Pictographs*, p. 81 (*J.H.S.* xiv, 1895, p. 350).

[2] *Proceedings of Soc. of Antiquaries*, 1895, *2nd series*, xv, pp. 351.

[3] *Mon. Ant.* vi, 1895, pp. 333, and Pls. IX, X, XI.

[4] Published in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, v (1901), pp. 437 *sqq.*

Such is the archaeological history of the Kamares cave until the June of 1913, when the Cretan Government with its usual cordial support of the School, granted us a permit to carry out a full excavation. The party consisted of Messrs. Droop, Halliday, Laistner and Lambert, all members of the School, and the Director. As mender and foreman we again had the services of Yannis Katsarakis of Palaikastro and for the last few days Gregorios Antoniou of Cyprus was with us. His wide experience, especially at the excavation of the cave of Psykhro, made him very useful, and assured us that nothing had been left undone to make the cave yield up all its secrets. Owing to the restricted space, our workmen were always fewer than twenty. The photography was undertaken by Mr. Lambert and Mr. Droop, and at Candia by Mr. Behaeddin; the plan and the drawings of vases, partly done at the camp and partly later at Candia, are the work of Mr. Droop and the Director. The extremely bad condition of the white and red paint made it almost always necessary to use drawing rather than photography in publishing these vases. The white paint has generally disappeared to such an extent that some study is needed to make out even its traces: in such cases a photograph is useless; the only possible plan is to make a watercolour drawing, restoring the white in the places where there are indications, however slight, that it originally existed. Where parts of the vase are missing, they have been restored in the drawing, but in paler colours.

For a mountain sanctuary which should impress the inhabitants of Phaistos and the plain of Messará, it would be impossible to find a more fitting position than that of the Kamares cave. From all the western part of the plain the actual summit of Ida is not visible; this only comes into sight at the greater distance east of Gortyn, or as the ground rises to the Káto Ríza mountains which fringe the coast to the south of the plain. Everywhere else the summit is hidden by the great two-peaked mountain above the village of Kamares, the third and westernmost of a row of lower hills of the Ida range, which from Gortyn westwards form the northern boundary of the Messará plain.

Some 500 feet below the eastern peak of this mountain is the cave, and from Phaistos and for many miles over the plain its great arched mouth is visible in the clear air. The height of the cave above the sea seems to be about 5500 feet, a little higher than the Nida plain and the Idaean cave, which are about 5260 feet. The mountain as seen from near Phaistos is shewn in the view which forms the frontispiece of this volume (Pl. I), reproduced by the kind permission of M. Boissonat from one of his series of photographs of Crete. The opening of the cave is at about the level of the top of the wreath of clouds and immediately below the × on the edge of the Plate.

The view is magnificent. Immediately below are the two mountain valleys, one coming up from Phaistos and Gligoriá, and the other leading from Candia and the west by way of the villages Zaró and Vouroúsi, the two converging at the point where Kamares itself lies, hidden by the extreme steepness of the slope above it. Beyond the foot-hills which shut in these villages lie the plain and the Káto Ríza mountains, and beyond them the sea with the rocky islet of Paximádi and to the far east the larger island of Gávdos. The strategic position of the acropolis of Phaistos, guarding the western entrance to the Messará plain, is visible as on a relief map, and to the west of it the big village of Dibáki appears in the middle of the alluvial flats by the sea like a white spot in the middle of a dark ring of olive-groves. The slopes of the mountain itself cut off any distant views to the east and west: Dikte is hidden, and to the west only the first hills of the steep southern coast running towards Sphakia come into the field. These appear to the right in the view from the cave shewn in Fig. 1, 6, in which the plain is partly covered with a mass of white clouds whilst beyond it the sea is clear.

The problem of transport brought home very forcibly the remote position of the cave. It is indeed rather more accessible than it was recently, now that the carriage road from Candia to the Messará has been opened as far as Hagia Varvára, which lies high up on the central

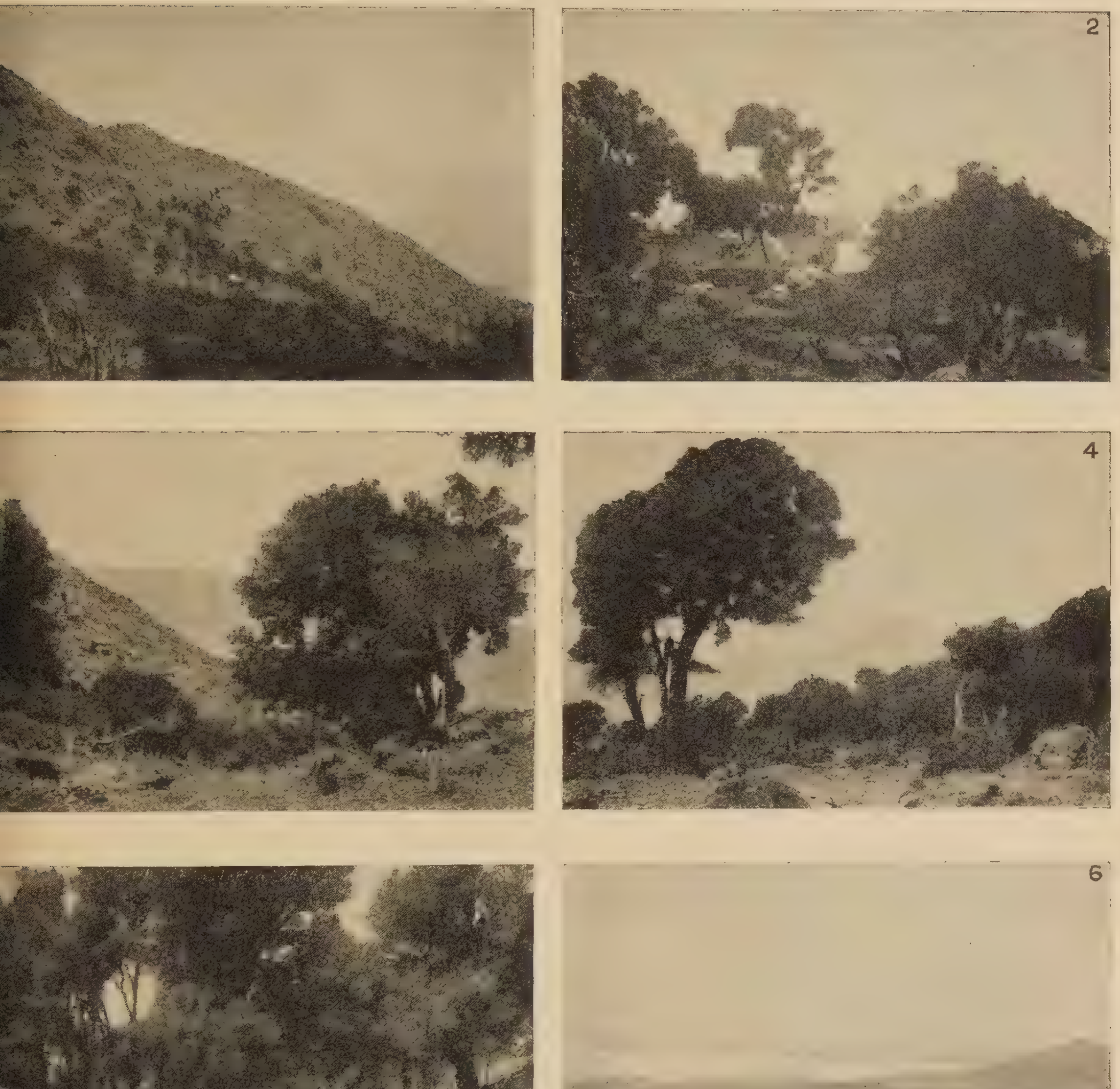

Fig. 1.—Views on the Kamares Mountain.

watershed of the comparatively open part of Crete between Ida and Dikte, and is reached by a fairly steady ascent from Candia. Beyond Hagia Varvára there is nothing but the old mule track, which runs along a valley to the south of Ida and reaches Kamares by way of Panasós, Gérgeri, Nívrito, Zaró and Vouroúsi. The village of Kamares, hidden from the cave itself, lies on a little saddle where the head of this valley meets the head of the other which goes down by way of Gligoriá and Lagoliá to the plain of Dibáki. Immediately to the north begins the steep slope of the mountain, whilst to the south the village is cut off from the lower regions by the steep foot-hills, which form the middle distance of the view from the cave. The village is thus entirely shut in amongst the hills and winding valleys. It is occupied chiefly by shepherds and charcoal burners, and having always been Christian, has none of the ruined or deserted Turkish houses which now give so sad an appearance to many of the villages of the plains. A few new red-tiled roofs which here, as in almost every Cretan village, are now beginning to take the place of the old flat clay roofs, are the chief external signs of change. At the village the Candia muleteers broke their contract, which had been to take us some way up the mountain, and our first camp was pitched in an olive garden by the side of the road.

From the village a path leads up towards the cave, but goes no further than a dairy which lies two-and-a-half hours up the mountain on a flat spur overlooking the plain, rising a little above the point where scattered trees mark the beginning of the belt of forest. The beehive-hut architecture of these dairies in Ida is interesting. Besides the folds for the sheep, there is a circular stone hut with a low door, for sleeping and cheese-making, and connected with this by an even lower door a second beehive chamber in which the cheeses are stored. The Mycenaean method is followed in their construction, no mortar being employed, and the curvature of the walls being formed not by the use of the arch principle, but by advancing each course of stones a little beyond the stones below. The outside is left entirely rough. I regret that I did not measure the height and diameter of the domes. A similar beehive dairy is to be found between the Kamares cave and the Nida plain close to the spring called τσὶ κουτσουνάρας τὸ νερό, '*the water of the spout*' in the valley separating the Kamares mountains from the mass of hills to the east of it, through which the path goes from these southern villages to Anoyia on the northern side of Ida.

The cave lies about an hour-and-a-half above the dairy, and for this part of the way it was necessary to make a path amongst the trees and rocks, first to the place chosen for our camping ground and then, a walk of another twenty minutes, to the cave itself. Excepting for the spur on which the dairy lies, the Kamares mountain is very steep and, as the photograph in Fig. 2, 1 shews, the slope upon which the cave opens is so unbroken that there is almost no level space in front of the cave. The only flat ground anywhere near is in the hollow where our tents were pitched, and the necessary booths were built for cooking and sleeping. Of this camp two views are given in Fig. 1, 1, 2. The forest belt, which begins at the dairy, is now sadly diminished by the charcoal burners who cut down the full grown trees, and by the goats who prevent the growth of any new ones; it now ends some little way below the cave, where only a few dead stumps now remain to emphasize the bareness of the hillside. Below this however there is still a fine belt of forest, dark ilexes and bright green maples with red seeds, small and sturdy in growth and much gnarled by the weather, but quite transforming the barren mountain. Of its appearance the photographs in Fig. 1, 2–5 give some idea. On the rocks in this region the herb dittany is found, whose woolly scented leaves are still collected and sold as a drug.[1] There is no lack of water; near the camp there are four or five small springs, and one of these we cleared out and built up into a well from which water could be drawn. The rest are used by the shepherds, and one is led down to supply the village fountain.

The cave itself is a great hollow in the limestone running down at a slope of about 30° into the mountain. A plan is given on Pl. II, and a section along the roughly central line marked XYZ on Pl. III. The slope of the floor is marked on the plan by contour-lines taken at every two metres, the lowest point of the cave being taken as the 0·00 datum point. The small figures on the lines mark heights in metres. The great arched entrance is about 33 metres wide and the height is estimated by Taramelli at 18 to 20 metres; its appearance is shewn in Fig. 2, 1, a view looking east taken from a point on the mountain a little way off. The contour lines on the plan shew that the ground at the mouth forms a miniature valley rising on both sides towards the face of the mountain, slightly, on the right and more sharply on the left hand.

[1] Its modern name is *ἀτίταμος* or *ἔρωντας*, the latter the modern Cretan equivalent for *ἔρως*.

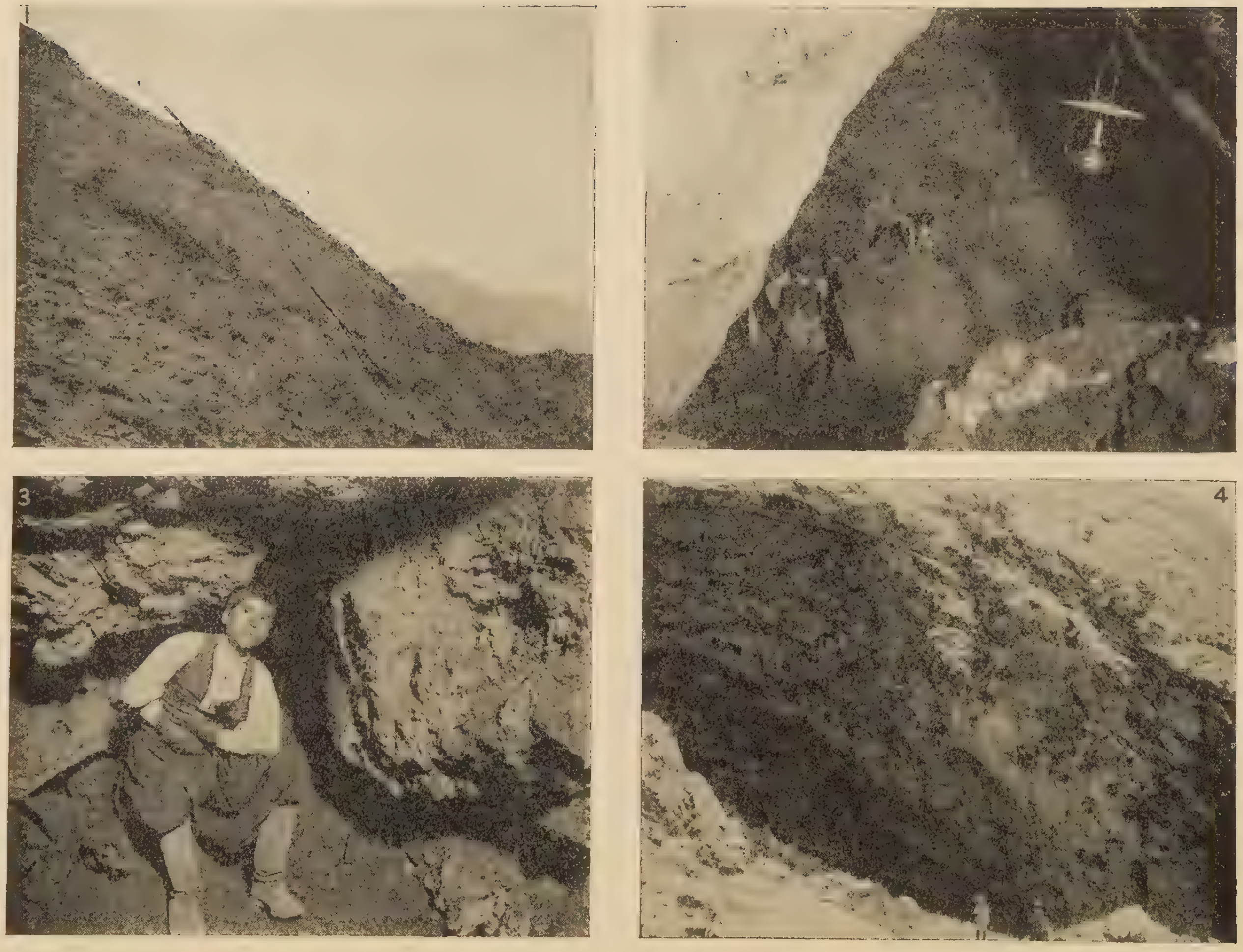

FIG. 2.—THE KAMARES CAVE.

Along the bottom of this valley now runs a little path, which we made by filling up the interstices between the boulders with earth and pebbles. In the view of the mouth shewn in Fig. 2, 4 the three men are standing on this path immediately before the descent into the cave begins. The débris here looks so much as if it had either fallen from the brow of the cave roof or perhaps rolled down from the mountain above that it seemed possible that ancient remains might be found beneath it, either deposits of votive objects as at Psykhro or even an altar, as in front of the Idaean cave. Deep trial-pits however revealed nothing but natural rock and earth; the only archaeological deposit near the mouth of the cave was in the small recess on the right (E on the plan), where a few Middle Minoan sherds were found in a layer of black earth quite near the surface. At about the line where the roof ends and the cave proper begins, the ground begins to descend, and, as the section shews, the roof runs down with it so that the height of the cave remains about the same almost as far as the lower end. The slope of the floor of the cave is in two directions, divided as the contour lines shew by a ridge, from the high end of which is the best general view of the interior of the cave as a whole. As the slopes descend the light becomes less, and the vegetation, dwarf barberry and almond, chionodoxa and herb-robert, gradually disappears, although in even the lowest parts there is still a dim twilight. The smaller slope is on the right of the ridge: about half way down it, at the point marked **1** on the plan, were found the Late Minoan I sherds and the top of a *bügelkanne* shewn in Fig. 4; very probably also the two *bügelkannen* of the original find shewn in Fig. 5, *a*, *b*, are from this region. Nowhere else was anything found later than Middle Minoan III. The left hand slope is much larger, occupying by far the greater part of the outer cave. It is much cumbered by large boulders, especially along the left wall and at the bottom, some being of great size. It was amongst the boulders at the bottom of the cave that the great mass of Middle Minoan pottery was found, and it is here also, according to Taramelli, that the shepherd who made the first discoveries, found the original Kamares vases. The richest points are marked by the heavy numbers (**2**–**6**) on the plan.

The bottom limit of the outer cave is formed by the rapid convergence of the roof and the floor, and there are thus at several points small inner recesses into which it is possible to scramble. In two of these, marked B and C on the plan, pottery was found, but their size is unimportant.

One such hollow however, A in the plan, is much larger than the rest and is the great inner cave visited and described by Taramelli. Its opening, formed by a slight rising of the roof, is of considerable width but is so much choked by boulders, that access can only be gained by scrambling down a very small hole, on the left. As soon as one has climbed down this narrow chimney, the inner cave reveals itself as a long arched hall, the the floor of which is formed by a rapidly descending scree of small stones, probably carried down at least in part from the slopes of the upper cave. The raised centre line of the scree is almost in the middle of the choked entrance and it is possible even now to ascend at this point as well as by the side passage. Between the bottom of the scree and the end of the cave is the place where Taramelli found a pool of water, and in its muddy bed sherds of a vase, which he compares to the Early Minoan jug from Hagios Onouphrios, published by Evans[1]. In place of the water we found only a bank of fine mud, but no pottery at all. Indeed the only objects we found in the inner cave were one or two coarse sherds and an ox's skull on the slope of stones. This skull, like several other animal remains, could not from its appearance be very old, and is probably a relic of the occasional use of the cave by cattle-stealers and refugees.

The productive region was thus the lower margin of the outer cave. The richest points (**2**–**6** on the plan) are hollows between large boulders, in which masses of Middle Minoan sherds were found mixed with powdery black earth. A flashlight photograph of **2** is given in Fig. 2, 2: it shews one of the hanging lamps which we used to light the dark parts of the cave. The regions **2** and **3** were the richest of all, and the plan shews that they form a kind of vestibule to the inner cave, enclosed on the left by the cave wall and on the right by huge boulders; these have sheer faces on the inner side and the figures on the contour-lines shew that this little precipice is 7·50 m., nearly 25 feet, high. Of the other regions, **4** was more open, but **5** and **6** were extremely dark, almost all light being cut off by the mass of big boulders which block the left-hand wall of the cave. Between **6** and the hollow at C there was a deep hole among the rocks, only to be entered by a scramble, in which much pottery, including some complete lids, were found. A flashlight photograph of it is shewn in Fig. 2, 3.

In all this region the pottery was found either between the boulders, or, if below them, only in positions into which it could have been thrown or thrust. Nothing was found in circumstances to suggest that rock had fallen since the deposit was made; splitting and blasting a few boulders in order to see if anything was concealed beneath them, led to no results. The conclusion is that, as far as fallen blocks are concerned, the cave to-day is in much the same condition as it was in Minoan times, and that the offerings were made by people coming as far down into the cave as they could, or perhaps as they dared, and laying their vases amongst the great boulders, or in convenient crevices between them. There was evidence that, at least in some cases, grain was offered in this way, for amongst the pottery in one place we found a mass of material which seemed to be the remains of either wheat or some other grain, This was probably brought up in the large jars with the tie-on lids described and figured below, of which a great number were found.

---

[1] *Cretan Pictographs*, p. 114, Fig. 106*a*.

The very broken condition of the pottery may be due to subsequent visitors ransacking the cave for bronze and precious objects. This may also explain the extremely small number of other finds, the almost complete absence of bronze, and lastly, the finding of pieces of iron in several cases amongst the Minoan pottery. In no case, however, can this iron be Minoan: its comparatively uncorroded condition, especially in so damp a place as the cave, demands a very much later date.

The last remains to be described are the walls which both Taramelli and we noticed. Amongst the pottery by region **4** there are certainly traces of walls built of unhewn stones without mortar, but they are so slight and their extent so uncertain that it was hardly possible to put them on the plan. Taramelli speaks of a built hearth: this we certainly could not verify. In the inner cave we found four very badly built pieces of terrace wall from two to three metres long and one metre high, built across the slope of stones as if to hold it up. For the date of these walls there is no evidence.

R. M. D.

§ 2.—THE PAINTED POTTERY.[1]

The finely painted pottery, although the account of it occupies the greater part of this report, formed only a very small proportion of the whole. By far the greater part of the sherds found,—for whole vases were very rare and even those capable of being restored not numerous,—were of coarse, almost always unpainted pottery, belonging mostly to lids such as those shewn in Fig. 6, and to large jars most probably of the shape of the painted examples of Pl. VIII.

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[1] For all the vases of the earlier find the Candia Museum numbers are added. The vases found in the excavation have not yet received museum numbers.

The shapes are not numerous; the great variety often found in Middle Minoan ware is by no means present. Cups in especial are rare, and the commonest shape is the small two-handled spouted jar, a characteristically Cretan form. This appears in its early form with no foot[1]; it has a pair of vertical handles and at right angles to these a spout, generally open above (Pls. IV, *below*, V and VI *below*), a form which belongs especially to Middle Minoan I and Middle Minoan II. There are, however, and especially amongst the fragments, a fair number of spouts of the later form closed above with a bridge of clay. The examples from the cave belong to late in Middle Minoan II, but the form runs down well into Late Minoan I. For an opening all these jars have merely a hole surrounded by at most a slight furrow, but with no regularly formed neck.

Chronologically the painted vases are of course of great importance. The earliest traces of occupation are afforded by two Neolithic sherds from the original discovery. Of these one is from a rough, apparently spherical vase with a suspension handle and vertical scorings on the sides, and the other is a piece of the edge of a polished bowl with a sham (*i.e.* unpierced) handle some way below the rim. After these two fragments comes a little Early Minoan, and then the bulk of the ware, all Middle Minoan in date; some Middle Minoan I and some approaching Middle Minoan III, but for the most part clearly Middle Minoan II. Then follow the few Late Minoan I sherds of Fig. 4 found on the right hand slope (at **1**), and the series is closed by the top of a *bügelkanne* found with them, and the two Late Minoan III *bügelkannen* shown in Fig. 5, *a*, *b*, which belonged to the original series of finds. As it is only from our present knowledge of the sequence of Minoan vase-painting that it is possible to date the use of the cave, I have arranged the descriptions of the vases in what the mass of evidence now available from other sites assures us is their chronological order.

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[1] The foot on the vase in *Mon. Ant.* vi, Pl. IX, 8, is an error.

Early Minoan.

The handmade spouted vessel from the first set of finds shewn in Pl. IV, *above* (Mus. No. 503), is clearly Early Minoan, probably Early Minoan III. It is complete, except for the greater part of the spout, the exact length of which is therefore uncertain. The ground is a thin dull brownish black, which at present has cracked off a good deal allowing the pinkish clay to appear. The white of the pattern has almost disappeared, and can only be made out by careful study, but the pattern is clear excepting for a slight uncertainty about the tips of the spirals. The illustration is made from a sepia drawing, in which the present contrast between the pattern and the ground has been very much heightened. Height ·083 m.

Sherds from such vessels are not common, and it is only a few pieces of the characteristic spouts that can be placed here with any certainty.

Middle Minoan.

I. The earliest Middle Minoan vases are handmade, covered with the usual 'Kamares' black, or, on these vases, more often reddish ground-colour, and decorated with patterns in white, the effect of which is heightened by a sparing use of red. The patterns are geometric, and strongly recall the Early Minoan III geometrical 'Kamares' ware, which was first found in any quantity at Gournia.[1] The use of red suggests that these vases are a little later than the Gournia finds, and they should probably be placed early in Middle Minoan I. They are not common: only three are fairly complete, nor are the sherds numerous. The list is :—

(*a*) (Pl. V, *above*.) A two-handled jar, of which the mouth is rather larger than usual. The pattern, which consists of a lattice-work in white, with the triangles filled with dots, is arranged in four vertical bands. This scheme is suggested by the division of the body of the vase by the spout and the handles, the space between each handle and the spout being one-quarter of the circumference, and therefore suitably filled by one of four bands. We shall see presently that this is a favourite scheme of decoration for these earlier vases. The red consists of a line round the mouth and two parallel lines on each side of the bands of lattice-work. Height ·10 m.[1]

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[1] See E. H. Hall in Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, p. 57, Figs. 41, 42, and more fully in *Trans. Univ. Pa.* 1905, vol. i, part iii, pp. 195 *sqq.* For examples from Palaikastro, see *B.S.A.* x, p. 199, Fig. 2, and xi, p. 271, Fig. 5.

(*b*) (Pl. IV, *below.*) A similar jar, but with a more globular body. The decoration consists of the same four vertical bands and a red line round the mouth. The bands of pattern contain each three festoons of red and white lines, and their vertical borders, which on the last vase were merely stripes, are here diversified with the white cable-pattern so often found on Early Minoan III pottery. Contrary to the usual practice the red paint was laid on before the white. Height ·112 m.[2] The illustration is made from a water-colour drawing.

(*c*) (Pl. VII, *d*; Mus. No. 45.) A jar with decoration in white and reddish purple. The body is surrounded by three bands of purplish-red with white dots between them, and the space above is covered with a diaper of treble lines of white with a blob of paint surrounded by a ring of small dots in the centre of each lozenge. Round the mouth are two red lines with a row of white dots between them. Height ·124.[3]

(*d*) (Mus. No. 95.) Handmade jar with a thin ground-colour varying from red to black. The pattern consists of four blobs, each made of a red spot surrounded by first, a circle of small white spots, then a circle of larger white spots and lastly by four white circles, all very roughly painted. The usual red lines surround the handle, spout and lip, and there is a white band round the base, and above it two red bands. Height about ·11 m.

(*e*) (Mus. No. 38.) Handmade jar, with dull black ground. Round the body is a band of white lattice-work with red lines above and below, and on the shoulder two bands of white crescent marking. There is a white band round the foot and apparently red lines round the spout and lip. Height ·102 m.

These three, *c*, *d*, and *e* are very inferior in technique, the black ground and the white and red or purple paint being very thin and poor in quality; if they were not handmade they would perhaps be thought a later degeneration of the Middle Minoan I style.

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[1] Two sherds of this vase are given in *Mon. Ant.* vi, Pl. X, 21 and 21 a. The rest is newly found.

[2] Only a part of one side of the vase is preserved. A sherd was found previously: it is published in *Mon. Ant.* vi, Pl. X, 16.

[3] With the new fragments some half of this vase now exists. An old sherd shewing a piece of the lip and spout is figured in *Mon. Ant.* vi, Pl. IX, 7.

Besides these vases, a few sherds mostly of similar jars, belong to the same style. Examples in Mariani's article *Mon. Ant.* vi, Pl. X, 17 and 13.[1]

II. Immediately after these may be placed a group of vases, all but the last one (*k*) being jars of the usual type which, although still handmade shew a more developed style of decoration. The old arrangement of four vertical bands of pattern is often adopted, but in several points a change is visible. The old geometric patterns have disappeared ; the vertical bands often, as in the last vase, do not reach the foot, but are cut off below by the horizontal lines, now of white and red, which are henceforth such a feature of Minoan pottery ; and lastly, an ornament is often introduced into the four spaces between the vertical bands, so that one comes below the spout, two below the handles and the fourth at the back of the vase.

(*a*) (Pl. V, *below* ; Mus. No. 575.)[2] This is by far the finest vase of this class and the value which the original finder set upon it is plain from the number of holes which he drilled in it to rivet the fragments together. The vertical bands, very much cut short by the horizontal bands at the base, consist of two broad strips of white with bars between them, and are themselves decorated with red stripes. The spaces between are filled by a drawing of a fish in white, and the body outlined in red. Of this red traces are left on only one of the fishes, but its existence and general arrangement are certain. The white strokes on the handles are a further point of separation from the earlier vases. Height ·11 m.

(*b*) (Outline sketch in Fig. 3, *d* ; Mus. No. 30.) A similar jar with ground varying from red to black, and five sets of vertical lines from lip to foot, three at the back and one on each side of the spout. In the spaces below the handles is a red spot surrounded by two rings of small white spots, a ring of bigger red spots, and again two rings of small white spots. Height ·095.

(*c*) (Mus. No. 35.) A jar of the same shape and coloured ground. The decoration is in the usual four vertical bands, each consisting of a broad band of white with transverse bars or red upon it, and each side of it first two red and then two white stripes. The paint, especially the red, is very much destroyed. Height ·103 m.

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[1] Both these belong to the same vase, which seems to have been a round-bodied mug, with a slightly flaring mouth. No. 13 is very badly drawn, and the suggestion that it is part of the bottom of a vase is completely wrong.

[2] Already published by Mariani in *Mon. Ant.* vi, Pl. IX, 8, 8 a, but not very accurately, either in drawing or colour. In particular the red colour on the fishes is omitted, and a non-existent foot is added.

(*d*) (Outline drawing in Fig. 3, *c*; Mus. No. 31.) A similar jar with the same red to brown glaze and much destroyed paint. The body is surrounded by a band of horizontal lines in white (or ? yellow), and above these is a decoration of vertical rows of horizontal strokes and zigzags in white and red. The old quadrantal arrangement appears in the four rows of red strokes, two of which run up the back and the others between the

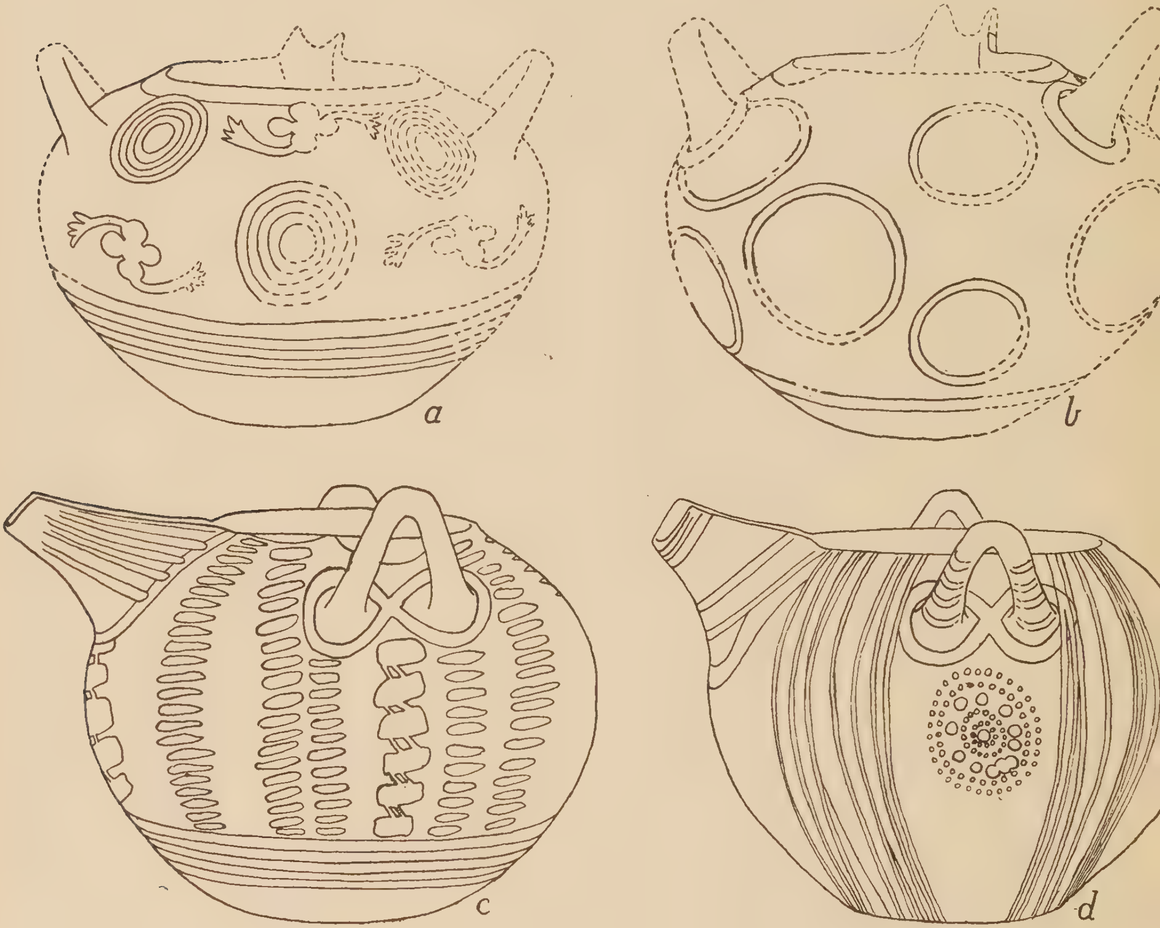

FIG. 3.—SKETCHES OF MIDDLE MINOAN VASES FROM THE KAMARES CAVE. (Scale 1 : 2.)

spout and handles. Between them, and so beneath the handles and the spout and in the middle of the back, are white zigzags flanked by rows of white horizontal strokes like the red ones. Height ·102 m.

(*e*) (Mus. No. 32.) Another jar of this class, which has lost every trace of ornament except a red line round the greatest circumference. Height ·102 m.

(*f*) (Mus. No. 36.) A large fragment of one of these jars shews an uncertain number of vertical bands, each consisting of one red and two white stripes, and in the spaces between them a red spot surrounded by a ring of white spots. A red and a white line surround the mouth.

(*g*) (Pl. VI, *below*.) A fragment was published by Mariani,[1] and new pieces have made a restoration possible. It has a very fine black ground, and the pattern consists of four large quatrefoils with alternately red and yellow triangular leaves edged with white. Height ·102 m. The illustration is made from a water-colour drawing.

(*h*) (Outline drawing in Fig. 3, *a*; Mus. No. 40.) A jar of which a fragment was published by Mariani in *Mon. Ant.* vi, Pl. IX, 12. A small new piece has now been added, making enough to shew that the space above the horizontal lines of white and red, which encircle the lower part of the body, was filled by concentric circles in white arranged in two rows alternately with small white quatrefoils each with two arm-like branches. Height ·09 m. The arrangement of the pattern is as on the wheel-made jars described below (IV, *c*).

(*i*) (Mus. No. 33.) A jar in which the decoration by bands of red and white in large festoons so common in Middle Minoan I cups at Palaikastro appears.[2] There is a white band round the body, red and white bands on the spout, and from the rim are large loops, a white strip with a red one on each side, enclosing the handles. Height ·107 m.

(*k*) (Pl. VII, *c*.) The rim is pinched into a quatrefoil form and double white festoons hang beneath the lobes. The other decoration consists of three red bands round the body of the vase, the upper two of which are bordered with white spots. Height ·105 m.

III. Of the handmade pottery with the raised 'barbottine' decoration, which was from the first recognised as characteristic of the Kamares style, a fair amount has been recovered. This decoration consists either of small raised points or of irregular ridges made apparently by dabbing the tacky surface of the still wet clay with the tip of the finger and so producing small cells separated by raised lines, not unlike the mountain ranges on a relief map. These roughened surfaces are gaudily painted with the usual Kamares colours. As a rule it does not cover the whole vase, but is used in conjunction with flat parts, upon which a pattern is carried out in white and red paint, and in this way forms a background to the painted design. The warty surface is sometimes used realistically to indicate the actual modelling of an object, as in the shells on the vase described below and shewn on Pl. IX, *above*.[1] All the vases of this class are handmade, and all evidence dates them to Middle Minoan I.

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[1] *Mon. Ant.* vi, Pl. X, 15.

[2] For examples see *B.S.A.* ix, p. 305, Fig. 4, No. 2, Figs. 5 *a*, *b*.

The examples are :—

(*a*) The large pithos, shewn on Pl. VIII, *a*. Of this only a part of one side was found, but this is enough for a restoration of both the form and decoration. The photograph on the plate has been taken from the restored vase, with the pattern painted in water colour on the plaster additions. The handles are all new, but their position is certain : none of the actual foot of the vase was found but it cannot have been appreciably higher than it stands at present. The four handles dictate a fourfold scheme of pattern, and thus each quadrant of the vase above the horizontal bands at the base is crossed transversely by a branch from either side of which grow three recurved sprays. The ground behind these branches is covered with very lightly worked 'finger tip' modelling. The whole vase is covered with the usual dark Kamares ground, the branches painted red, and the ground powdered with white spots. Below each branch is a cluster of red spots, like a fruit or flower. Height ·46 m. Diameter of mouth ·31 m.

(*b*) (Pl. VII, *e*; Mus. No. 60, 63.) A partly preserved jar covered with black ground. Two white lines run round the body, and above them the ground is covered with raised warts painted white. There are red lines round the handles, lip and spout, and a cluster of four red spots in the vacant space between the spout and handle. Height ·10 m.

(*c*) (Mus. No. 59.) A spouted vessel, differing from the usual jars in having a low neck and a foot. Only a part of it is preserved, but it has been recently restored in plaster with a spout of the Early Minoan projecting form and a single vertical handle opposite to it, like the vase on Pl. IV, *above*. A band of white goes round the foot and two bands of red round the body, which is covered with the usual dark ground. Above these lines the surface is covered with raised warts except for the space occupied by a painting of a fish halfway between the spout and the handle. Only the tail half of the fish is preserved, but it is drawn like the one on the vase on Pl. V, outlined in white and with a pattern in red on the body. Height ·145 m.

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[1] An unpublished jug from Dr. Xanthoudides' excavation at Koumasa is the best example I can find of this. It has on its sides four representations of some object, of which the six rows of raised warts on it are clearly an actual feature.

(*d*) (Pl. VII, *f*; Mus. No. 56.) Part of a one-handled jar. The ground is formed by a buff slip with a pattern of a few transverse rows of warts and some black lines and spots. This and the next two vases are examples of dark-on-light style, which is not very common in the pottery from the cave.

(*e*) (Pl. VII, *a*; Mus. No. 71.) One-handled jug, with a pattern carried out in black paint on a buff ground, consisting of three sets of four transverse lines running up the body above two lines, which run round the lower part near the foot. Between the transverse lines the ground is covered with the raised 'finger-tip' pattern and powdered with black spots. Height ·17 m. Published in colours in *Mon. Ant.* vi, Pl. X, 14.

(*f*) (Pl. VII, *b*; Mus. No. 2522.) A similar jug decorated with eleven raised ridges running transversely up the body, with two lines of black paint running alongside them, and black bands round the lip and the junction of the neck and body. Height ·19 m.

(*g*) (Mus. No. 2251.) A similar jug, with trace of white bands on each side of the raised ridges. Height ·195 m. This decoration of transverse ridges is common in the jugs from Dr. Xanthoudides' unpublished excavation at Koumasa, and in those from the graves at Hagia Triada.

(*h*) (Mus. No. 62.) A fragment of a flowerpot-shaped vessel, with side handles and a spout; roughly decorated with 'finger-tip' ornament and stripes and spots of red and white on a dark ground. Diam. ·14 m.; height ·105 m.

(*i*) (Mus. No. 64.) A smaller fragment of a similar vessel with wart ornament in stripes inside and out. Height ·085 m.

Besides these there are a number of fragments of similar vessels, but none that it is possible to restore. They may be classed thus:—

(1) The clay covered with buff slip and 'finger-tip' work, and painted

with black or brown spots. This is the commonest style, pointing to vases like those on Pl. VII, *a* and *f*.

(2) The clay covered with a black ground dotted with raised warts dabbed with white paint. Any further patterning, which is generally limited to red and white lines round the lip, spout and handles, is carried out on the surface, left flat for the purpose. These fragments come from vases like that shewn on Pl. VII, *e*.

(3) Less common are sherds with black ground covered with 'finger-tip' pattern and white spots, with flat spaces reserved for pattern. The only complete example of this style is the *pithos* described above and shewn on Pl. VIII, *a*.

IV. The next class covers the fine polychrome painting with non-naturalistic patterns on wheel-made vases, and must be placed in the Middle Minoan II period. Many fragments of such vases are so pretty and the patterns so attractive, that it is here that the broken condition of all this pottery is so lamentable. The condition of the paint also is often so bad, that it is only by careful study that it is possible to make out the details of the pattern.

(*a*) (Pl. IX, *above*.) This is perhaps the best of these vases. One sherd of it was found originally and was published by Mariani[1]; it fits in to the left of the spout. The drawing was made at the excavation, and therefore gives only the new pieces. The shape is akin to that of the jars, but is so much flattened as to look very different; it is clearly the Middle Minoan prototype of a form common enough in Late Minoan times.[2] A small boss on the back, decorated with seven white spots, answers to the spout, and this boss, the spout and the handles divide the field into four parts, in each of which is a murex shell drawn in white. The corrugation of the shell is rendered by rows of small raised lumps. The vacant spaces are filled by red spots surrounded by a white circle and a ring of white dots; the raised lip is decorated with a pattern in white. The ground is a fine black, and the colour better preserved than on most of the vases. The drawing of the shell is interesting as being not so much conventional as primitive in style, for it seems that the spiral at the apex is not a meaningless ornament, but is intended to render the spiral twist of the shell itself.[1] This inaptitude for realistic drawing is very general in Middle Minoan I and II vases; witness the figure of a man on the sherd from the cave published by Mariani.[2] The contrast to the observation of natural form shewn in Middle Minoan III vase painting is very remarkable. Height ·081 m.

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[1] *Mon. Ant.* vi, Pl. IX, 5 (printed upside down). Mariani took the bit of shell in the fragment for a fish.

[2] Cf. the L.M. II vase from Phylakopi in *B.S.A.* xvii, Pl. XI, No. 137.

(*b*) A small cup shewn on (Pl. VI, *above*), with a fine black ground. The pattern is linear, consisting of panels crossed by diagonal lines, the whole being picked out with red. This cup shews very markedly in its sharp angles the traces of metal technique which have often been observed in Middle Minoan pottery. The bottom is crossed by a white line, and shews the concentric string marks which are generally a sign of a later date. Height ·075 m. The illustration is made from a water-colour drawing.

(*c*) Outline drawing in Fig. 3, *b*. A type of wheel-made jar probably as early as any of this class can be distinguished, in which the decoration consists of bands round the lower part of the body, and in the space above them large discs of pattern arranged as on the vase in this sketch. The discs here are plain white with red edges, but in other cases the patterns were more elaborate. In particular the sherd published by Mariani in *Mon. Ant.* vi, Pl. XI, 26 probably belongs here, concerning which it may be noted that another fragment from the same vase makes it unlikely that the red points on the Mariani sherd are, as taken by themselves they well might be, the points of a double axe.

Another fragment shews the disc of pattern made up of a central red spot with small white dots round the edge, then a ring of large white spots, and the whole surrounded by a thick ring of white.

The handmade jar described above and shewn in Fig. 3, *a* anticipates this arrangement of the pattern.

V. The next class is formed by a few vases of a later style, with naturalistic designs. Technically their lateness is shewn by the rapidity of the wheel upon which they were made as marked by the thinness of the sides and the strength of the wheel marks, by the use of a string to separate the completed vase from the wheel,[3] the concentric marks of which appear on the base, and by the poorness of the black ground. I was inclined on the strength of the naturalism of the designs, and because they are clearly later than class IV above, to date these vases to M.M. III. Sir Arthur Evans, however, kindly tells me that the evidence from Knossos leaves no doubt that their stage of development had already been reached in the M. M. II period, and it is to this that they must therefore be assigned. The spouts of the jars seem all to be of the bridged type, as far as they are preserved.

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[1] A similar spiral is seen at the mouth of the murex shells on a dark vase from Gournia of L.M. II date (Mus. No. 2296). Published in Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, Pl. J.

[2] *Mon. Ant.* vi, Pl. IX, 10.

[3] I have had occasion to study a great quantity of M.M. and L.M. I and II pottery at Palaikastro, and noticed that there these marks never shew themselves as early as M.M. II. A

(*a*) Of the jar shewn on Pl.10, *below*, the greater part of one side has been preserved, although the white paint has hardly left more than traces of its presence. The quick wheel and naturalistic pattern clearly put it into this class of vases. The body of the vase is surrounded by two white bands, and above them is a band of orange spotted with crimson. Above this is a row of crocus plants. On the part preserved, which is the back of the vase, there were three of these, of which the two outer ones have flowers; a realistic feature is that the anthers are shewn in red paint. Round the lip is a row of white scallops. Height ·122 m.

(*b*) The jar shewn on Pl. X, *above*, is remarkable as being a very early example of the use of the octopus on Minoan pottery, for neither the fine polychrome technique nor the non-realistic drawing permits a later date than Middle Minoan II.

The drawing shews that very little of the vase was found, and the restoration practically depends upon the small piece of rim to the left of the large fragment. Once however this was recognised as being of the same clay and technique as the larger piece, the interpretation presented no difficulty. The drawing was made on the mountain, and therefore does not include a piece giving the rest of the bottom of the vase and the lower part of the opposite side, which came to Candia from the first exploration of the cave. It adds nothing however, excepting the assurance that there was a similar octopus on the other side of the vase. The treatment is entirely decorative. The body, as far as it is preserved, is orange with a diaper of crimson and a white margin. At the ends of the tentacles, which

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drawing of their appearance is given in *J.H.S.* xxiii, p. 249, Fig. 2; they are caused by cutting the vase off the wheel by placing a string round the base and tightening it, a practice I have seen used by a Japanese potter. With regard, however, to the dating of the vases of this class from the cave to M.M. II rather than to M.M. III, it should be remembered that east and central Crete may well differ in such a detail, and also that the M.M. II pottery of Palaikastro seems to belong very early in the period, whilst these vases must be late in it.

are only six in number, are orange discs with a crimson blob in the centre and surrounded by small white dots; still less in correspondence with reality are the orange plumes which run back from the lowest pair. The whole animal is surrounded by a double series of white loops.

(*c*) Of the broken vase shewn on Pl. XI, *below*, only the lower part has been preserved[1]; the drawing shews as much restoration as is possible. It was probably some form of oinochoë, and of the pattern it is plain that there was at least a third row of spiral sprays above those preserved. The walls of the vase are thin, the marks of the wheel; prominent and the bottom has the lines made by the cutting string; these, and the floral nature of the pattern, are all points that place it relatively late.

(*d*) The vase on Pl. XII, *below*, seems from the indication of a handle, to have been one of the usual jars, and it has been restored in this way in the drawing from which the illustration has been made. It belongs like the vase with floral spirals, late in the series. Thus it is wheel-made, and to judge from the largeness of the marks, made on a quick wheel, the bottom has marks of a cutting string, and the glaze is poor, quite lacking the brilliancy of such earlier examples as the murex vase and those on Pls. V and VI. The pattern, too, points the same way. It consists of round masses of network arranged in twelve vertical rows of three each, these rows being alternately red and white. Whilst this arrangement of the colours is characteristically Middle Minoan and begins as early as Middle Minoan I, the pattern itself is clearly the conventional rendering of rock-work or perhaps coral that is so common in the marine designs found on Late Minoan II vases.[2] Height ·075 m.

(*e*) The jar shewn on Pl. XI, *above*. The pattern consists of two rows of white daisies with a red centre on the usual dark ground. The centres of the daisies appear much too dark in the illustration, which has been made from a water-colour drawing. Height ·11 m. about.

(*f*) The mug shewn on Pl. XII, *alove*. The ground is a reddish brown, on which the pattern is carried out in white. The flat handle is a restoration. The vessel resembles the Zakro ware in style, and is probably later than the rest of this class, and not earlier than M. M. III. Height ·075 m.

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[1] A sherd found at first is published in *Mon. Ant.* vi, Pl. IX, 1; the rest was found by us.

[2] For examples see the vases from Vaphio and Phylakopi published by Bosanquet in *J.H.S.* xiv, Pls. XI, XII.

(*g*) Here belong a considerable number of fragments, especially of jars with bridged spouts. Some were covered with a pattern of branches with leaves in white, a red rib being added to the branch. Fragments of these are published by Mariani (*Mon. Ant.* vi, Pl. XI, 33, 34). The sherds of this class however, are by no means as numerous as those of earlier date.

VI. Besides these there are few miscellaneous Middle Minoan vases.

(*a*) The vessel of which a restored drawing is shewn on Pl. IX, *below*, is quite exceptional. The shape is the fruitstand form already well-known in Middle Minoan pottery,[1] but the pattern is very remarkable. The ground colour is formed by a pale brownish slip, and on this is a rough network of red, against the sides of which are blotches of an ochreish yellow. The ground is dabbed over with touches of black, and the red network and its yellow additions roughly edged with a line of white, laid on after the other colours. The white is at present not easy to observe, but it can be made out by careful examination. There is no doubt that this curious pattern was intended as an imitation of one of the natural breccias out of which the Minoans delighted to cut vases and dishes. The full polychromy of this vase places it in Middle Minoan II, and the use of such ornamental stones goes back to a far earlier date, as is shewn by the magnificent series of stone vases discovered by Mr. Seager at Mokhlos.[2] A parallel is afforded by a late Minoan II vase found at Hagia Triada which is painted with wavy parallel lines of brown in imitation of alabaster.[3] The outside and as much of the foot as remains are decorated with slanting lines, white paint and the usual bands of dark brown.

(*b*) (*c*) The two *pithoi* shewn on Pl. VIII, *b* and *c*, are clearly contemporary, and, to judge from very close parallels from Phaistos, of Middle Minoan date. Of *b* the more complete example, no part of the rim is preserved, of the other, *c*, only fragments from the upper half remain. Their most characteristic feature, which is found also at Phaistos, is the raised ornament which encircles the shoulder and foot. The pattern is carried out in black paint on a greyish buff ground, and at least in the example *b* a good deal of white paint was used. Fragments of such *pithoi* were frequent ; a fine piece shews a pattern of large black circles connected by tangents and edged with white, and pieces with the curious raised ornament are common.

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[1] *E.g.* from Palaikastro in *B.S.A.* ix, p. 308, Fig. 8 ; also Hogarth and Welsh in *J.H.S.* xxi, p. 87 (D).

[2] Seagar, *Explorations in the Island of Mochlos*, Pls. I–VII, IX.

[3] In the Candia Museum (No. 2997).

(*d*) Fragments of a jar of the usual type, but with the spout bridged over, and made on a wheel. The decoration is formed by vertical dark stripes edged with white on the pale ground of a buff slip. Height ·11 m.

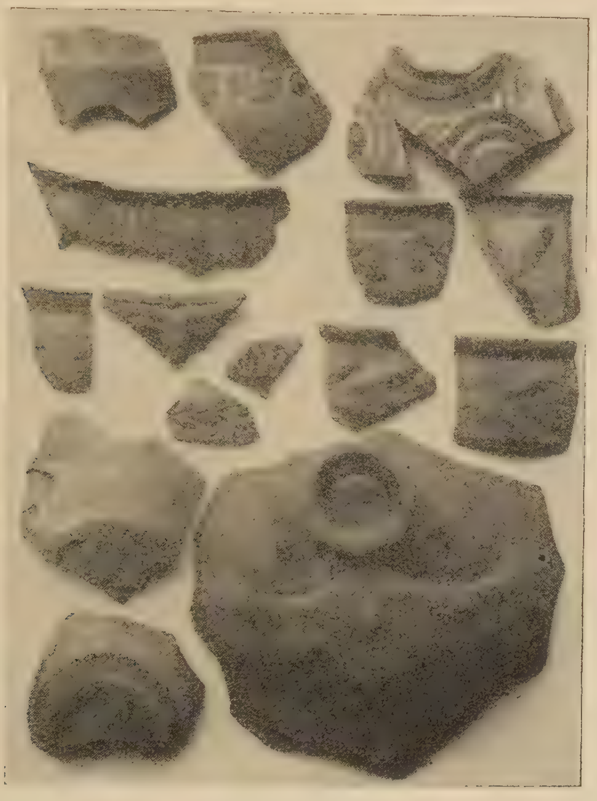

FIG. 4.—LATE MINOAN FRAGMENTS FROM THE KAMARES CAVE. (Scale 1 : 2.)

(*e*) A wheel-made jar covered with a good black ground, without pattern, possibly with the remains of a splash pattern in white. The body is slightly flattened, and is decorated on the shoulder with two sets of four slight channels made by the wheel. The spout is not open but bridged and the bottom has the concentric marks of the string; the vase is not earlier than Middle Minoan III and may very well be of Late Minoan I date. Height ·153 m.

Late Minoan.

The few pieces of Late Minoan pottery found were all, as has been said above, from the right-hand slope of the cave. They are shewn in Fig. 4: the painted fragments with dark paint on a buff slip, excepting the first and third of the second row from the top, may be put down to Late Minoan I, or possibly II, whilst the top of a large *bügelkanne* is probably later. Similar in pattern and style is a fragment from the original finds (Mus. No. 55) of the upper part and neck of a high-shouldered oinochoë apparently of the shape, and, as far as it is preserved, nearly of the pattern of one found at Palaikastro.[1] It has on the shoulder a pattern of running spirals in dark paint on a buff slip, and on the neck the same rough curves as the Palaikastro example. The small bowl (Fig. 5, *c*) with a festoon pattern round the lip, one of the original finds, also belongs here. So, too, does the small cup (Fig. 5, *d*; Mus. No. 1011) also from the earlier finds, which much resembles in shape some of the cups from the pits at

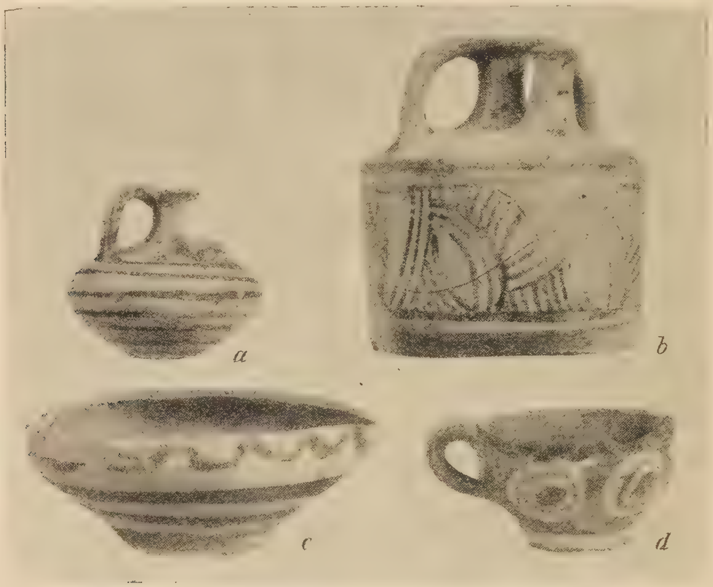

FIG. 5.—LATE MINOAN VASES FROM THE KAMARES CAVE. (Scale 1 : 3.)

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[1] Published in *B.S.A.* xi, p. 281, Fig. 12 *b*.

Zakro. It is covered with a dull ground which varies from red to black and on this is very carelessly painted a pattern of spirals with a border of festoons hanging from the lip. It is largely the carelessness of the work which would date it as low as Late Minoan I. Height ·05 m.

The latest pottery is of Late Minoan III date. Here fall the first and third sherds of the second row from the top in Fig. 4, and the two *bügelkannen* shewn in Fig. 5, *a* and *b*. Both of these are from the earlier finds, and there is therefore no evidence as to the part of the cave from which they came, but it is likely that they are from the same region (**1** in the plan) as the rest of the Late Minoan pottery. R. M. D.

§ 3.—PLAIN POTTERY.

Considerably the larger portion of the pottery was coarse and unpainted and for the most part very much broken. The clay is grey in section, greyish-yellow on the surface. The wheel-marks, especially on class *A*, are often very pronounced.

A. The shallow vessels shewn in Fig. 6 may be mentioned first, as they were more numerous than any other kind of plain ware. The position of the handles and the fact that any decoration is always on the outside, prove that they were lids, and not dishes or saucers. Very few lids of this kind have hitherto been known.[1] They fall into five classes :—

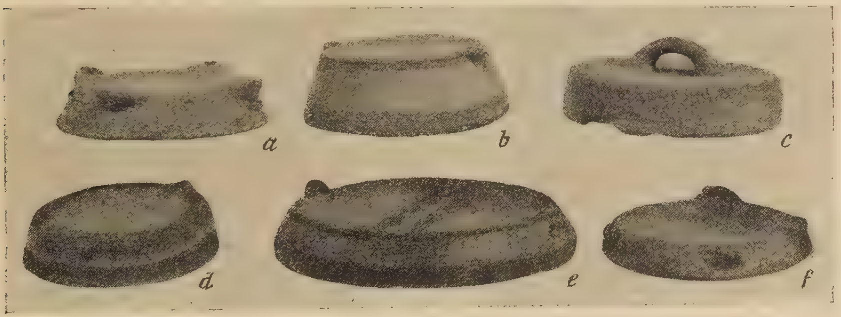

FIG. 6.—LIDS FROM THE KAMARES CAVE. (Scale 1 : 6.)

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[1] There is a solitary example from Palaikastro (*B.S.A.* ix, p. 302, Fig. I, 14). The lids from H. Nikolaos are of a different shape but were used for a like purpose (*ibid.* p. 341, Figs. 1 and 2).

1. These have two, four or sometimes three short ears pierced with string holes. Any decoration is confined as a rule to two bands of reddish-brown paint, one round the angle, the other round the edge of the lid (Fig. 6, *b*, *d*). Sometimes two bands cross the top as well (Fig. 6, *e*), and on three specimens (*e.g.* Fig. 6, *d*) there is a small circle containing two crossing lines in low relief on the top. Five examples are rounded like an inverted bowl, and have the ears, two or four in number, set high up and close together.

2. The ears are replaced by two or four proper handles, set close to the angle. They are either horizontal and round, or vertical and strap-shaped.

3. The side-handles or ears are replaced by a single handle on the top (Fig. 6, *c*).

4. A number of similar vessels without handles. Their general resemblance in shape and decoration to the others makes it certain that they too were lids and not saucers.

5. Two lids, each with a single knob on the top, in the one case with a horizontal string-hole, and in the other flat and unpierced.

B. Jars or small *pithoi* probably much like the painted examples on Pl. VIII, but with the handles set higher up on the body. These fall into three classes, according to whether they have ears pierced with string-holes, or horizontal or vertical handles, and they thus correspond closely to the lids, which were fastened down on the jars by means of string. Two fragments with a semicircular strip of clay projecting from the shoulder deserve mention. Underneath it is a small round knob, which was used to fasten the string from the lid, the semicircular strip taking the place of a handle.

C. Plates. These are quite flat save for a thick rim, and generally have some painted decoration. The best example has a diameter of ·18 m. and has the rim and edge covered with red paint, with a crudely drawn circle of the same colour in the centre. Sometimes the entire surface is covered with red paint.

D. Jugs. Of these there are several varieties. Fig 7, *c*, has a spout formed by pinching the lip, and two roll-shaped handles ; near the rim and close to one of the handles there is a cross scratched in the clay. Height, ·19 m. Another kind has the mouth pinched into a trefoil lip (*cf. B.S.A.* ix, p. 322, Nos. 7 and 8). Yet another kind has two pinched lips and two vertical handles on the shoulders. This is a typical Middle Minoan shape.[1]

E. Two kinds of large basins:—

(*a*) Very shallow, straight-sided examples with small bases and two handles set low down. The measurements of one are: height, ·125 m., diam. at top, ·53 m., diam. at base, 20 m.

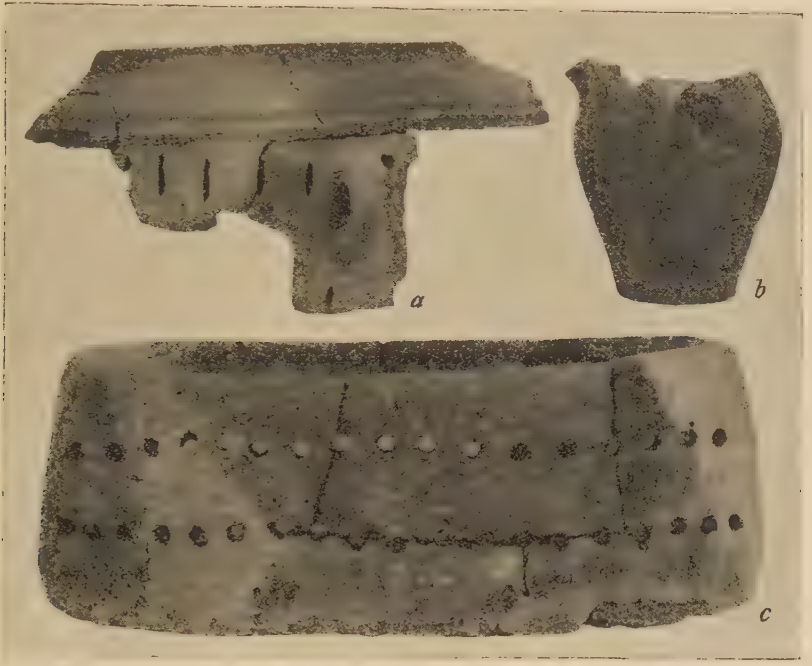

FIG. 7.—POTTERY FROM THE KAMARES CAVE. (Scale 1 : 6.)

(*b*) Deeper basins, decorated externally and immediately above the base with hatched lines roughly scratched in the clay. Above the pattern were set two handles.

F. (Fig. 7, *c.*) A large oval vessel, in shape not unlike a bath. Height, ·205; length at mouth, ·50 m.; breadth, ·28 m. The two long sides are pierced by two rows of circular holes, the short sides being unpierced. The bottom is scored on the inside so as to form a number of raised and sunk bands, and there are also a number of holes which do not however penetrate right through to the outside. There were no handles. This vessel was possibly some kind of brazier, but it can never have been actually in use, as there are no traces of burning on the clay.

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[1] Cf. *B.S.A.* viii, p. 293, the last one in the lowest row.

G. (Fig. 7, *a.*) This is a large piece, put together from four fragments, of a round brazier with roll-shaped handles. It had vertical sides, a sloping shoulder and a slightly thickened rim. Just above the shoulder are two rows of plastic ornament. On the body there were two or perhaps three rows of vertical slits, each about ·034 m. long. From a number of other fragments of similar braziers it appears that the bottom of the vessel on the inside was neither pierced nor scored, and also that round holes sometimes replaced the vertical slits. On some fragments the plastic ornament occurs also near the base.

H. Scanty remains of *pithoi*, with bulging sides and thick rim, were found, and also fragments of large vessels with vertical sides curving in slightly at the top. They cannot be restored with any certainty, but they had horizontal handles outside and a number of short knobs inside.

K. Four or five handleless cups and dishes, some of them made of finely levigated clay of a pinkish yellow colour. M. L. W. L.

§ 4.—MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

Finds other than pottery were not numerous, the most striking discovery being that of several iron objects, which, though found with M. M. II pottery, can only have made their way into the cave at a much later period. Unless the find-spot is specially indicated, all the objects are from the region marked **2** and **3** on the plan.

Metal.—Two types of iron dart heads, the one with a hollow socket into which the handle fitted, the other ending in a solid spike which could be forced into a hole in the shaft. Of the former type two examples were found (Fig. 8, *a* and *c*), of the latter three (Fig. 8, *b* and *d*) from the pit high up at the mouth of the cave marked on the plan E, and another from a trial-pit made just outside the entrance. The only other metal object was a much oxydised flat strip of bronze from the region **5, 6**. Length, ·091 m. (Fig. 8, *e.*)

Bone.—A flat piece of bone (Fig. 8, *g*) ending in a sharp point which may have been used for boring holes in soft objects, two needles used for the same purpose (*k* and *l*) and a number of bones worked flat and smooth on one side (*f* and *h*).

Miscellaneous.—A round piece of pumice stone worn flat and smooth on two sides (*i*); this and a small oblong piece of yellow bone (*n*) with two holes on one long side, and a single hole on one short side came from deep down in **2**.

Fig. 8, *m* is a three-sided piece of slate-like stone ending in a point for piercing holes. Found together with *i* and *n* was a small fragment from the rim of a cup, with a bull's head in relief on it. The clay is yellow and on the forehead and horns of the bull are a number of dots of brown paint.

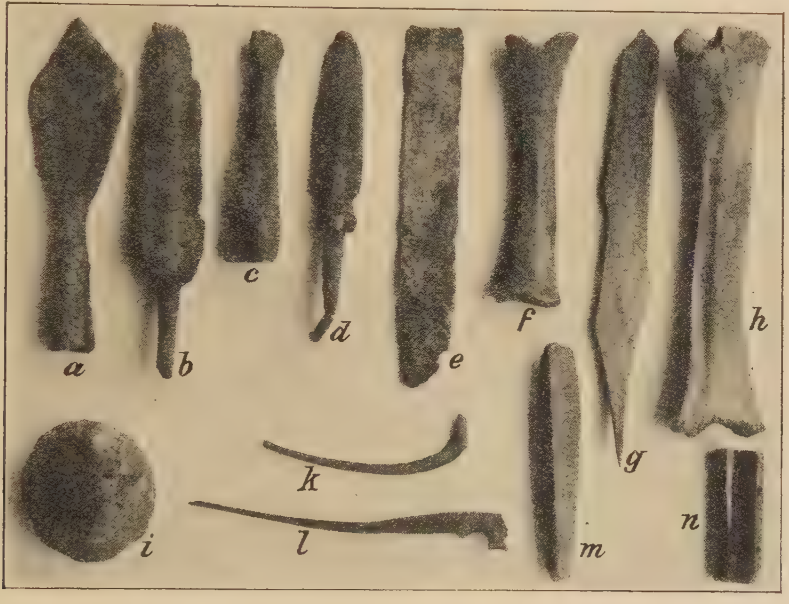

FIG. 8.—MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS FROM THE KAMARES CAVE. (Scale 1 : 2.)

A small bronze coin, barely a millimetre thick with a small hole pierced in it was found on the slope marked A. It is similar to that given in Schlumberger,[1] and dates from the Venetian occupation of Cyprus in the sixteenth century. On one side is a cross, while the other side is very worn but must once have borne the lion. M. L. W. L

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[1] *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, Pl. VIII, 10.

§ 5.—CONCLUSION.

This account shews that the votive objects which form so striking a feature of other caves and mountain sanctuaries of Crete, the bronze, and libation tables of Psykhro, the shields and various bronzes of the Idaean cave, and the figurines which were found in such abundance at the contemporary sanctuary of Petsofá, are practically entirely absent from the cave of Kamares.[1] This leads us to enquire whether the cave really was a sanctuary, or if it is not more likely that the pottery in it is a result of its use as a dwelling. This seems to me impossible for several reasons. The cave is free from snow for only a few months in the year, and in some seasons at least, the drifts never entirely disappear. Even in a favourable summer like 1913 the drip of water from the roof is incessant, and the temperature uncomfortably low. As for the finds themselves, if they do not positively suggest a sanctuary, they equally negative the idea of a dwelling. Houses in Crete of the Bronze Age invariably yield obsidian in considerable quantities; not a flake was found in the cave. Nor does the pottery suggest a house. Cups are almost entirely lacking; nor did we find the lamps whether of clay or stone, and the three-legged cooking pots, both of which are abundant in houses. On the other hand the restricted range of the shapes of pottery strongly suggests a sanctuary in which it was customary to make offerings in certain vessels of more or less fixed form, small spouted jars, and larger vases and *pithoi* with lids. The evidence is certainly negative rather than positive, but it is enough to make it impossible to suppose that the cave was not, as it has always been supposed to be, a sanctuary of the tutelary divinity of the mountain.

Of the other cave-sanctuaries of Crete the most famous and the most important are the two caves of Zeus, the one on Mount Ida only two hours away from the cave of Kamares, and the other the cave on Mount Dikte near the village of Psykhro. Both these caves have now been excavated, and a comparison of their contents with those of the present cave is interesting. The absence from the Kamares cave of the specifically votive objects found in the other two has been already noticed, but the chronological sequence of the three is of equal interest. The series of objects from the Kamares cave runs as we have seen through Middle

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[1] The figurines of the original find are only three, two oxen heads, and the body of what looks like a pig. They are published by Mariani, *Mon. Ant.* vi, Pl. X, 20, 22, 24.

Minoan I and II. Of earlier remains we have only a couple of Neolithic sherds, a few pieces of Early Minoan ware, and of a later time a little Middle Minoan III, and a very little Late Minoan, the series ending with the two *bügelkannen.* After Middle Minoan times therefore the cave was practically deserted. The finds from the Psykhro cave are on the contrary almost entirely Late Minoan. Mr. Hogarth in his report records, it is true, the finding of 'Kamares' ware, but in a later paper on the pottery of the Knossos houses he tells us that practically none of the sherds had the red and yellow paint of the pottery from the Kamares caves: the decoration was simply white on a dark, or more often reddish ground.[1] The few pieces now in the case of objects from Psykhro in the Candia Museum confirm this, and I remember some years ago in the old Museum at Candia going over a series of baskets of sherds from Psykhro, and noticing that the pottery with white paint was by no means Middle Minoan II, but much more closely resembled the pottery from the pit at Zakro, and by its free and rather floral patterns clearly belonged to Middle Minoan III or more probably to Late Minoan I.[2] This cave yielded, after the mass of Late Minoan objects, a few Greek vases, but its *floruit* was clearly Late Minoan.

The Idaean cave again, as is well known, yielded only objects of the archaic Greek period: the crystal lentoid gem of a woman blowing a conch shell being, as far as I know, the only Minoan object found.[3]

The remains in the three caves therefore form a chronological series, as if they had successively served as great cave-sanctuaries for at least the Central part of Crete. The political convulsion caused by the end of the Minoan and the beginning of the Greek period sufficiently accounts for the change from the Diktaean to the Idaean cave, and it is possible that there was an earlier movement, brought about in some similar way, from the cave of Kamares to that of Dikte. This theory would of course imply that worshippers from the same parts of Crete were in the habit of resorting to each of the three caves successively. The obviously local character of the pottery from the Kamares cave, with its close resemblance to that of Phaistos and Koumasa is no objection to this view: worshippers drawn from a distance would probably buy such perishable things as vases in the neighbourhood, rather than bring them from a distance.

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[1] *J.H.S.* xxi, p. 93.

[2] At that time the distinction between Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan I had hardly been drawn.

[3] Published in *J.H.S.* xxi, p. 142.

It must not however be left out of account that these were not the only cave-sanctuaries, still less the only mountain-sanctuaries, of Crete. Although it does not seem likely that any caves will be found of the natural impressiveness of these three, not a few others are already known, and more may very well come to light in the future. Even in this volume Doctor Hazzidakis is publishing his discoveries in the very early cave of Arkalokhóri. Further, however closely natural grandeur may be connected with sanctity and religious significance, they are not in any way proportional; other far less imposing caves may have played a great part in Cretan religious observance.

A recent paper by Toutain warns us that the series of Cretan caves is by no means to be regarded as closed.[1] The writer argues with great shew of reason that Dikte is not the modern Lasithi, but the mountains of Praisos, and that consequently the Diktaean Cave is not the cave of Psykhro, but must be sought in the far east of Crete, preferably somewhere between Praisos and the Temple of Diktaean Zeus at Palaikastro. These conclusions do not, of course, touch the importance of the Psykhro cave as a Minoan sanctuary; their bearing is on the Greek period. For this nothing could be more important; if the author is right, there should be a cave-sanctuary somewhere in the Praisos district with votives beginning from the archaic Greek period to correspond with the remains of the Diktaean temple found at Palaikastro. R. M. D.

R. M. DAWKINS.
M. L. W. LAISTNER.

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[1] *L'antre de Psychro et le Diktaion Antron*, by J. Toutain, in the *Revue de l'histoire et des Religions*, lxiv, No. 3, Nov.–Dec.

AN EARLY MINOAN SACRED CAVE AT ARKALOKHORI IN CRETE.

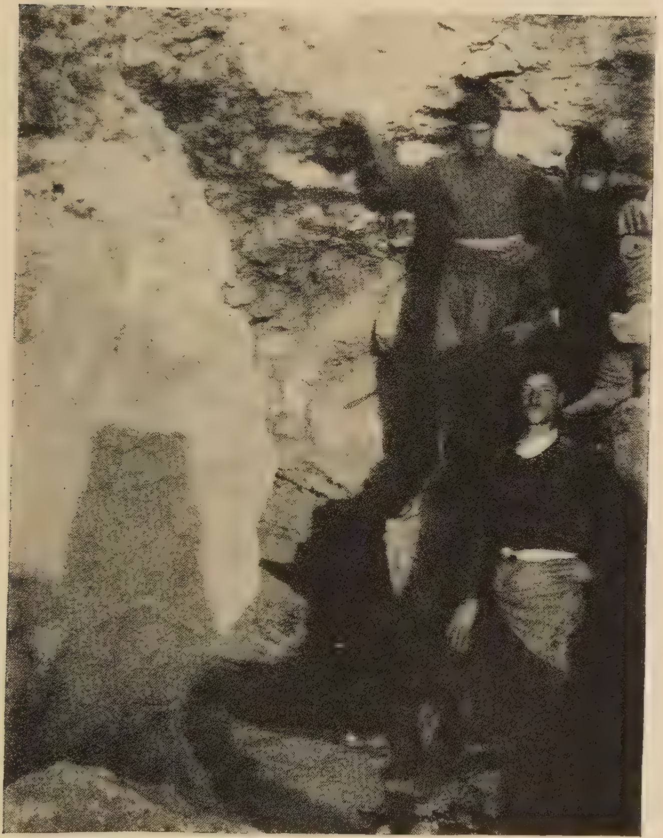

Fig. 1.—Mouth of the Cave at Arkalokhori.

The village of Arkalokhóri in central Crete lies a short distance to the south-west of Lyttos. To the east of the village is an eminence to which the ruined church on the top has given the name of Prophetes Elias. Below the summit on the western slope is a cave, the mouth of which is

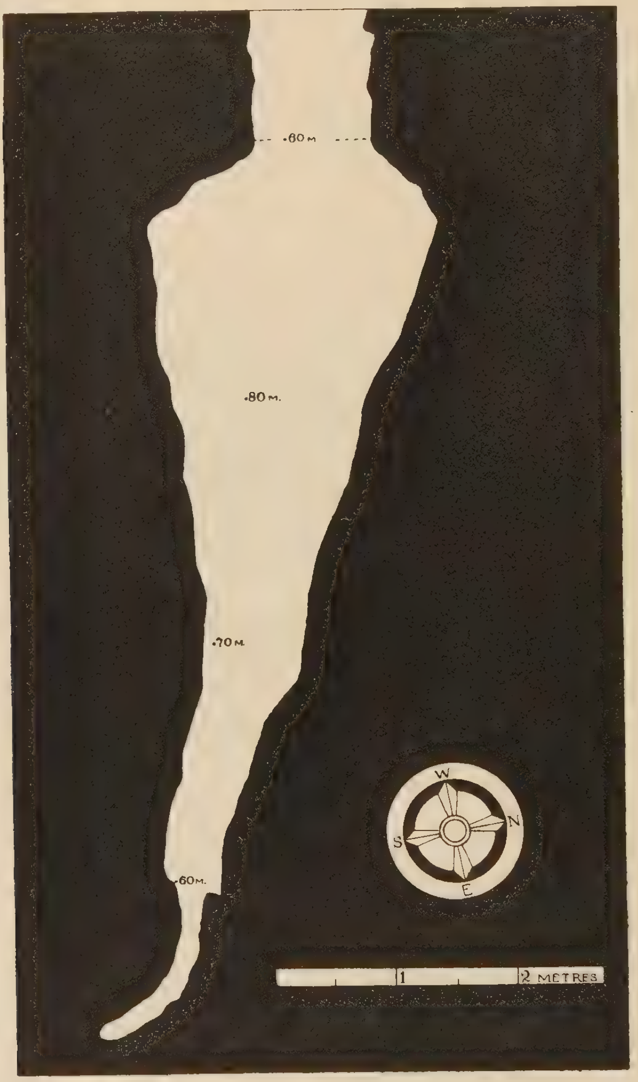

Fig. 2.—Plan of the Cave at Arkalokhori. (Scale 1 : 60.)

shewn in Fig. 1. Many years ago the peasants found bronze objects and potsherds at this point, and began an excavation of the cave in the hope of finding buried treasure. On entering the cave they found more and more pieces of bronze, described as blades of knives and lances, as well as some beads, and in order to get more quickly to the bottom of the cave, where they supposed that the treasure would be, they broke up the greater part of it with dynamite. They say that they collected eighteen okes of bronze objects, for the most part rusted blades, and sold them in Candia as old metal. No report of this had ever reached me, but last year a peasant from Arkalokhóri brought some blades to the Candia Museum from this cave, and thus led me to go and make an examination of the place.

The mouth of the cave was then choked with large boulders which had fallen down from above; these I broke up and rolled down the slope. Beneath and amongst them I immediately began to find blades of swords and knives and double-axes, all of bronze with the exception of a small axe which was of silver. The area thus cleared after rolling away the boulders in front of the present cave, is about 4 metres in length, and in width from 1 to 2 metres, and seems to have been the floor of the original cave. Outside this region the slope of the hill is very steep. The present mouth of the cave is 1·50 m. wide and only ·60 m. high, so that it is only possible to enter on all fours. Lower down, however, the height becomes as much as a metre, but in order that a workman might be able to dig even on his knees it was necessary to cut away the natural floor of the cave to a depth of 20 to 40 centimetres. The cave narrows towards the end, its greatest width being 2 metres. A sketch plan is given in Fig. 2, where the figures indicate the height of the cave at each point.

THE FINDS.

These were found scattered in disorder all over the cave and also in the level area in front of it, which, as has been said above, formed originally a part of the cave.

The Pottery.

The site had been unfortunately ransacked more than once by the peasants, who had broken the pottery and thrown it aside as valueless. This is possibly the reason for the contrast between its very scanty quantity and the great mass of bronze found.

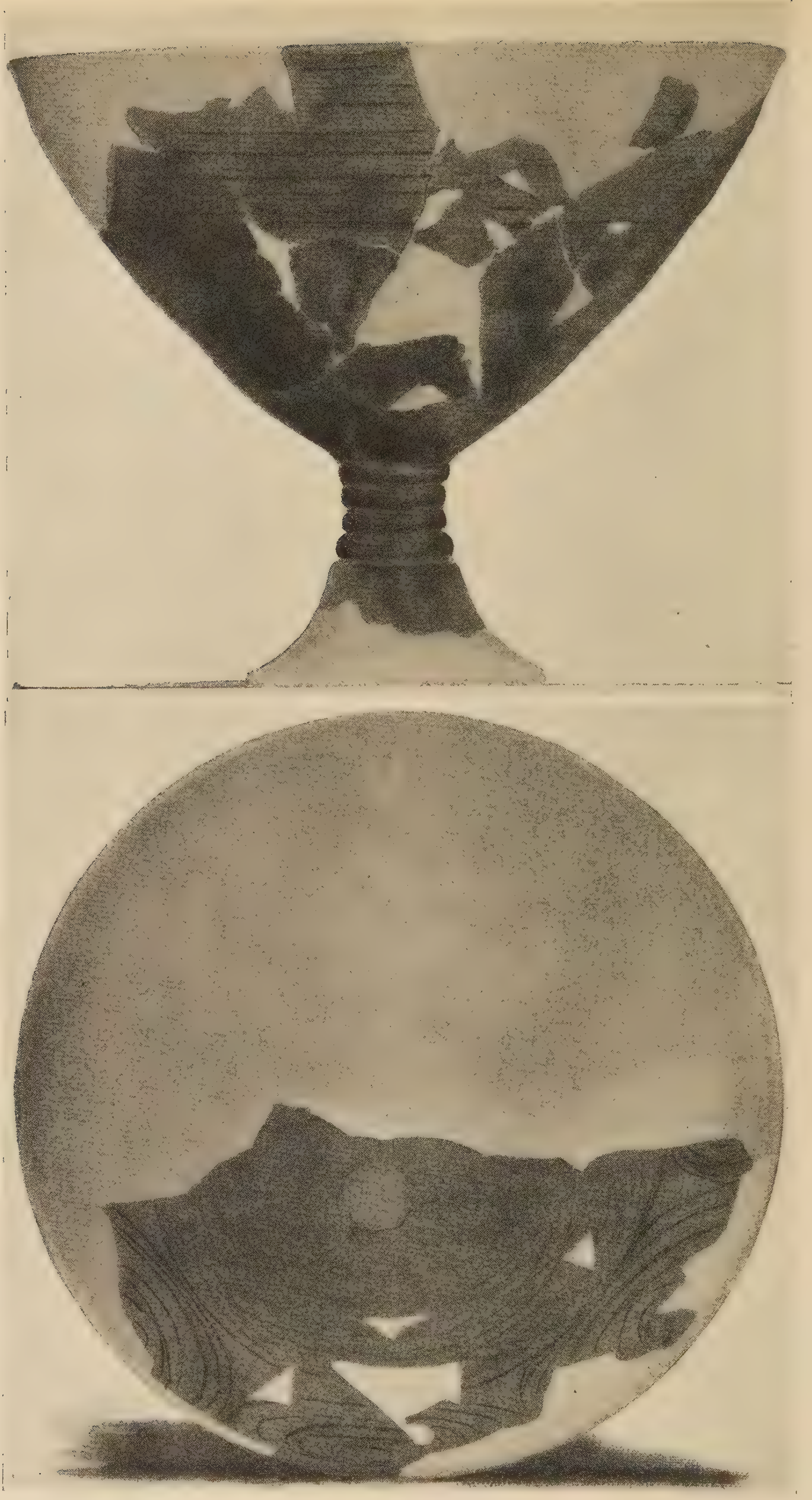

FIG. 3, *a* and *b*.—VASE FROM THE CAVE AT ARKALOKHORI. (Scale 1 : 2.)

No complete vases were found, and only one which it has been possible to restore, and that from many small fragments (Figs. 3 *a*, 3 *b*, 4 *d*). It is however, of great importance. It is a kylix, ·185 m. high and with a diameter of ·022 m., handmade of black *bucchero*, and burnished inside and out. Its thinness is extraordinary, being at the lip no more than 3 millimetres. The stem is decorated with a series of four raised mouldings, and there are nine black lines on the outside immediately below the lip. These shew black on a slightly lighter ground, and were made by polishing with a fine blunt tool, possibly of bone. The depression made by the use of such a tool on the still soft clay can be distinguished by careful examination, although it is naturally very shallow. The irregular spiral ornament which runs round the inside of the cup below the lip (Fig. 3 *b*) is made in

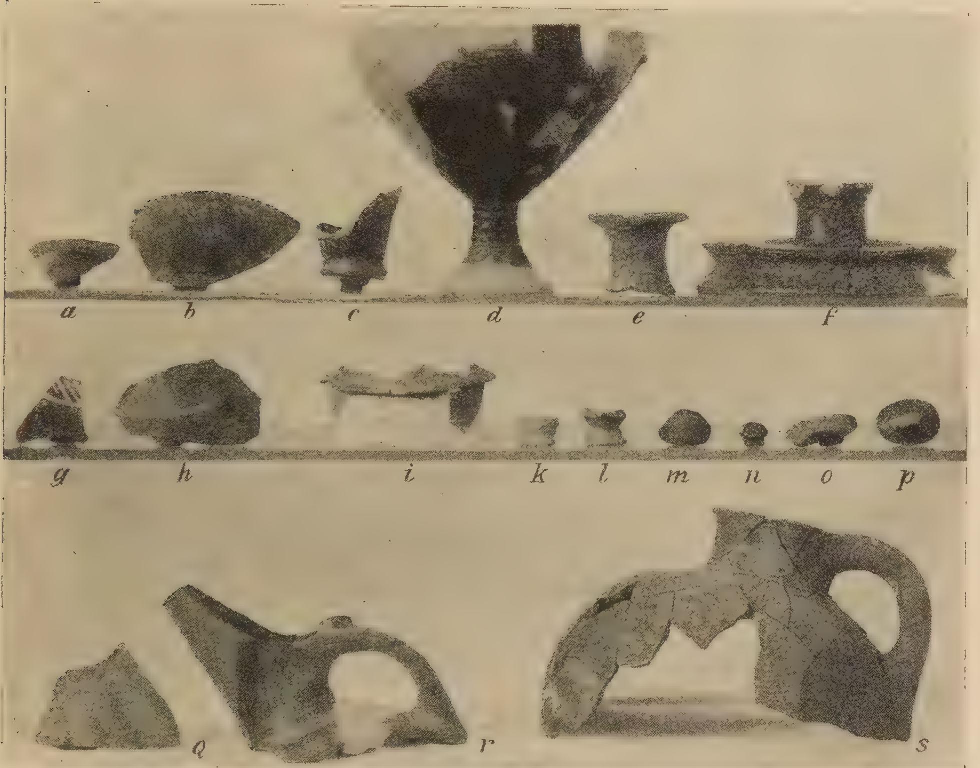

FIG. 4.—POTTERY AND STONE OBJECTS FROM THE CAVE AT ARKALOKHORI. (Scale 1 : 5.)

the same way. This is possibly the earliest example of the spiral yet found on Greek soil.

The fragments shewn in Fig. 4 *a*, *b*, belong to similar vessels, and the clay and manner of decoration are the same. The polished lines are perpendicular. The interior of the larger fragment (Fig. 4 *b*) has been photographed separately (Fig. 5) in order to show the marks of the wheel, which are plainer than I remember to have seen them in any other vase of so early a date. The wheel was, however, still in a primitive stage, for the marks are undulating rather than exactly horizontal.

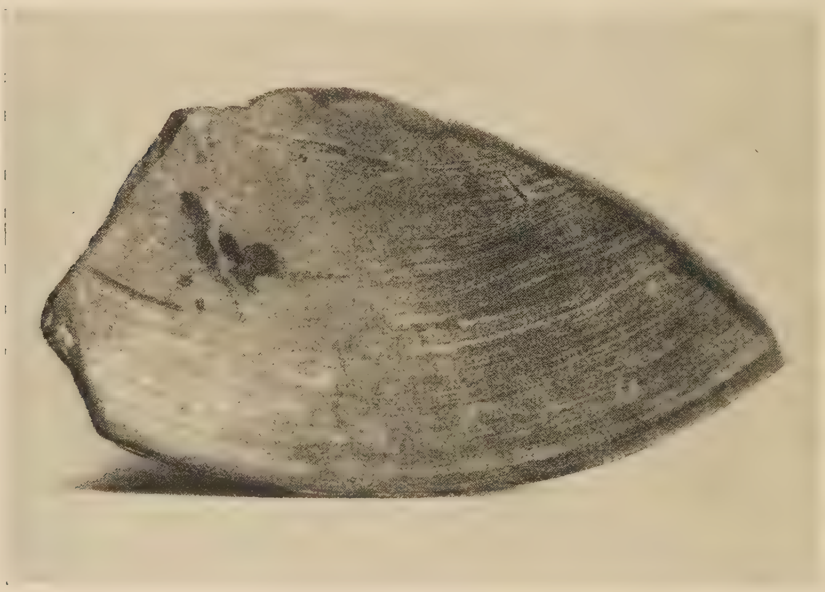

Fig. 5.—Fragment of Cup from the Cave at Arkalokhori. (Scale 2 : 3.)

The fragment in Fig. 4 *c* is from the base of a similar kylix. The clay is, however, not *bucchero*, but yellowish ; it is painted on both sides with a black pigment, which was burnished after the vase had been sun-dried, but before it was fired in the kiln. The shallow vertical scorings which can just be seen, were produced by the blunt tool used for burnishing.

Three fragments belonging to three more of these kylikes were found, of which two were of the same size as the one shewn in Fig. 4 *d*, and the third smaller. A piece of the foot of one of these was also found. The clay was yellowish-red and fine, but contained very minute fragments of sand or gravel. On both sides they have a slip of the same colour, and are burnished, but not so brilliantly.

The fragment shewn in Fig. 6*c* is from a kylix of almost the same form. The clay is fine and pure and of a light grey colour, and burnished in the same way as the vases just described. It is decorated with horizontal bands of a more brilliant burnish, exactly like those of the kylix in Fig. 4*d*. Half-way up there is a wavy line, and another can just be made out below the lip. Below these the bands seem to be broader.

The object shewn in Fig. 4*e* is the handle of a cover of coarse clay covered with a grey pigment. It resembles the example shewn next to it (Fig. 4*f*) from Mokhlos, where Mr. Seager has found four such covers in Early Minoan tombs.[1] He calls them fruit-stands or covers, but I think that there is no doubt that they, as well as others found by Dr. Xanthoudides at Koumasa, also in Early Minoan tombs, are all covers of vases.[2] If they were fruit-stands the part which would be the foot would show signs of wear, for it is not likely that all the examples found would be unused. It is also worth noticing that the village potters to-day make similar covers. I would go further and maintain that the famous frying-pan shaped objects found years ago in Syros by Professor Tsountas are only the lids of vases.[3]

The fragment in Fig. 4*g* belongs to a teapot-shaped vessel, with a pattern carried out in white paint on the chestnut-red clay.

Fig. 4 *h* is a fragment of a jug. The pattern consists of a band and above it a hatched triangle in white. To fix the handle securely, the potter pierced the wall of the vase and inserted the end of the handle into the hole, as is often the case in Cycladic vases. The inside shews how the vase was made; it was built up by the repeated application of small rolls of clay, which were afterwards smoothed off and worked together.

The vessel shewn in Figs. 4 *i* and 6 *a* is made up of several fragments. It is the upper part of a pyxis of a shape found also in the Cyclades. The clay is grey, very fine and pure; the vase is wheel-made. On the projecting ledge are preserved two of the holes by means of which the lid was tied on. On the lip between these holes are slanting lines incised by a hard tool before the vessel was fired.

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[1] *Explorations in Mochlos*, Fig. 28, xi, 6, p. 58 and Fig. 19, 1, p. 71.

[2] As yet unpublished. See however *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1906, p. 5; 1907, p. 13; 1908, p. 15.

[3] One is figured in Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1899, Pl. 9, No. 4. See also *ibid.* p. 86.

Fig. 4 *k*. A small toy cup.

Fig. 4 *l*. The base of a cup with a foot. The clay is yellow with traces of black paint and wheel-marks.

Fig. 4 *m*. A conical whorl of *bucchero*.

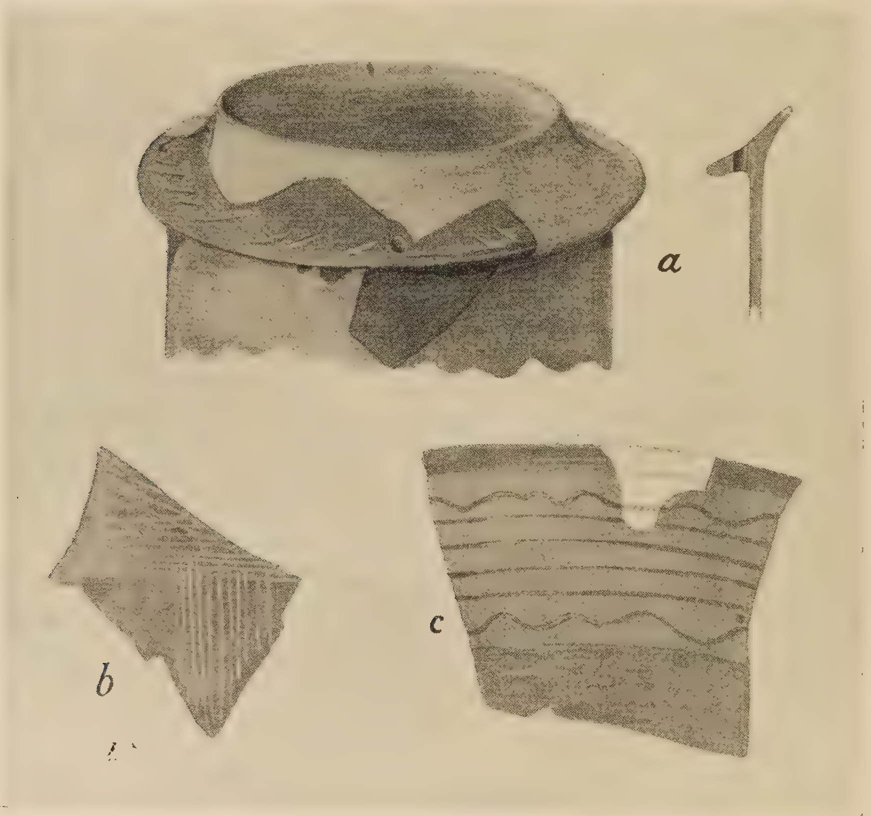

FIG. 6.—POTTERY FRAGMENTS FROM THE CAVE AT ARKALOKHORI. (Scale 1 : 2.)

Fig. 4 *q*. Fragment from the shoulder of a large hand-made jar of reddish clay with a paler slip and decoration in red paint.

Fig. 4 *r*. Fragment of a large jar of similar make and decoration.

The fragment of *bucchero* shewn in Fig. 6 *b* is remarkable as having on the outer side a pattern of fine crossed lines made on the grey surface in the same way as the lines on the kylikes described above. The inside is also burnished.

The broken jug in Fig. 4 *s* was found with other Middle Minoan sherds a few metres to the south of the cave, amongst the very scanty remains of some small houses.

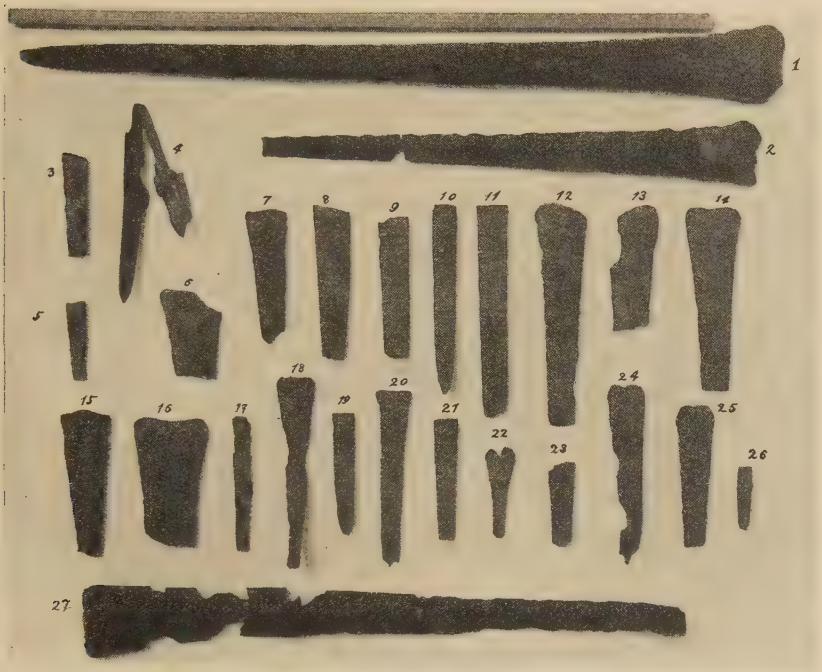

Fig. 7.—Bronze Blades from the Cave at Arkalokhori. (Scale 1 : 5.)

Stone Objects.

Fig. 4 *n* shews a small mushroom-shaped object of black stone with white spots. It is the knob of a small stone lid.

Fig. 4 *o* is the half of a river pebble of serpentine, one surface of which has been slightly hollowed by rubbing; it was probably used for polishing pottery. It is pierced with a hole, which served to fasten it to a handle.

Fig. 4 *p* is another pebble of the same stone. It is slightly narrowed at one end, where the broken surface suggests that it was used as a hammer.

Fragments of small obsidian blades were found, and a core from which such blades had been struck.

Metal Objects.

All the metal objects were, as has been said above, of bronze, with the exception of the silver double-axe shewn in Fig. 9 *h*. Of the bronze, one fragment is from a wide-mouthed egg-shaped vessel; all the rest are blades of daggers or of knives and votive double-axes.

It is very remarkable that, whilst all the sherds found in the cave are Early Minoan and the greater number of them even sub-Neolithic, the swords or daggers found with them are all of considerable length, and differ very greatly from the triangular daggers found in such Early Minoan tombs in Crete as the tholoi of Hagia Triada and Koumasa and the tombs at Mokhlos.[1] Not only do they differ very much in shape from these approximately contemporary examples but their length is relatively considerable. The longest Early Minoan dagger from any other source in the Candia Museum does not exceed 20 centimetres, whilst the longest from the Arkalokhóri cave (Fig. 7, 1) measures 53 centimetres, with a maximum width of 5 centimetres. The blade of this weapon is extremely thin, scarcely 15 millimetres at the thickest part. As the photograph shews, a very small piece is wanting at the point and another small piece at the hilt, but there was no hole or notch by which the blade could be fastened to the handle. Excepting the three mentioned below (Figs. 7, 22; 7, 24; 8, 6) this was always the case, and the inference is that they were offered at the cave simply as blades and without any form of handle. In the three exceptions, the base of the blade in Fig. 7, 22 has a deep triangular notch, and in Fig. 7, 24 a similar but shallower cutting; but of all the examples it is only the blade in Fig. 8, 6 that has two holes certainly for the attachment of a handle. The blades in Fig. 8, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, and 22 are remarkable for their narrowness. The blade in Fig. 8, 22, which is complete, is 20 centimetres long, 8 millimetres wide at the middle, and 20 at the hilt, and has a thickness of only 2 millimetres. It is impossible to suppose that so thin a blade was for practical use. The only blades thick enough for use are the two shewn in Fig. 8, 4 and 20. The primitive character of them all is shewn by the simplicity of their form.

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[1] See *Memorie dell' Instituto Lombardo Veneto di Lettere*, xxi, Pl. x, Fig. 24 (1904) and Seager, *Explorations in Mochlos*, Fig. 44, p. 74.

Of votive double-axes a great number were found, but almost all more or less broken. The best examples are shewn in Fig. 9; many more fragments were found but they were too much broken to be of any interest. One (Fig. 9 *h*), with the blades very much recurved and the middle very narrow, is the exceptional example made of silver; it weighs 3·50 grammes. Axes of similar form have been found at Hagia Triada;[1] many come from the Psykhro cave[2] and a small gilded example was found at Knossos.[3]

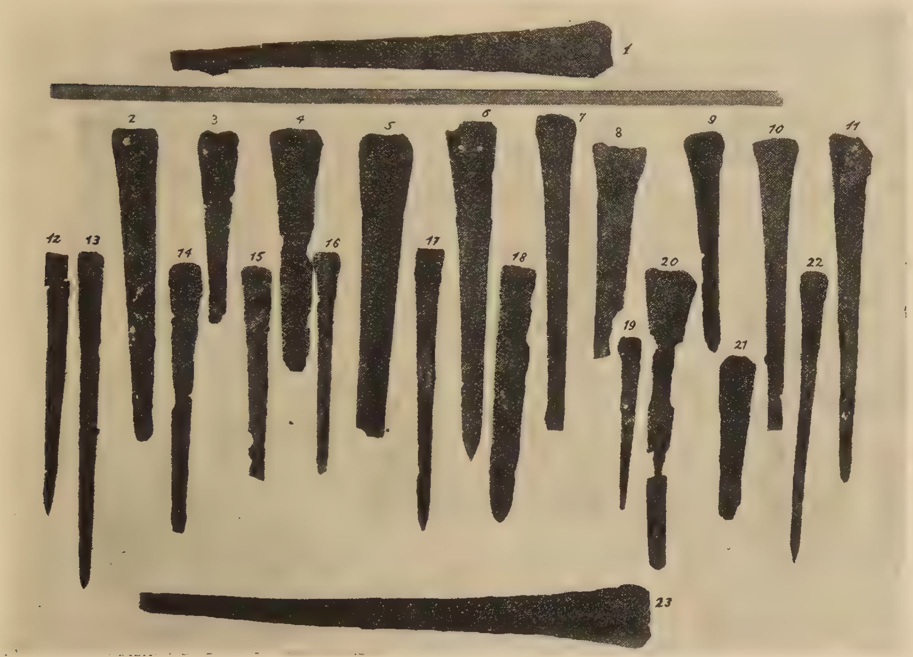

Fig. 8.—Bronze Blades from the Cave at Arkalokhori. (Scale 1 : 5.)

All these examples from Arkalokhóri have the blades very much recurved. The method of manufacture varies. Some (Fig. 9 *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *q*) are made of a single piece of bronze sufficiently thickened in the middle to allow of being bored with a hole for the handle. Others (Fig. 9 *f*, *h*, *i*, *l*, *m*, *t*) are made of two pieces of metal joined together, a groove on each forming a hole for the insertion of the handle. The two pieces are joined without the use of rivets, and it thus appears that the Early Minoan smiths were acquainted with the art of welding bronze. Other examples have neither hole nor handle.[1]

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[1] For the largest see *Mem. dell' Inst. Lombardo Veneto di Lettere*, xxi, Pl. ii, Fig. 5.

[2] *B.S.A.* vi, p. 109.

[3] *B.S.A.* viii, p. 101.

No one now doubts that the double-axe was the symbol of the divinity worshipped by the Cretans of the prehistoric period. If we further consider that on the one hand the painted *larnax* from Hagia Triada belongs to approximately the beginning of the latest Minoan period (Late Minoan III), and on the other hand that the Arkalokhóri axes are Early Minoan and that Mr. Seager has found a similar axe in an Early Minoan tomb at Mokhlos,[2] we are entitled to draw the conclusion that during the whole of the long period of the Bronze Age, the Minoan periods of Sir Arthur Evans, the Cretans preserved one and the same cult, and this is as much as to say that they were all through, one and the same people.

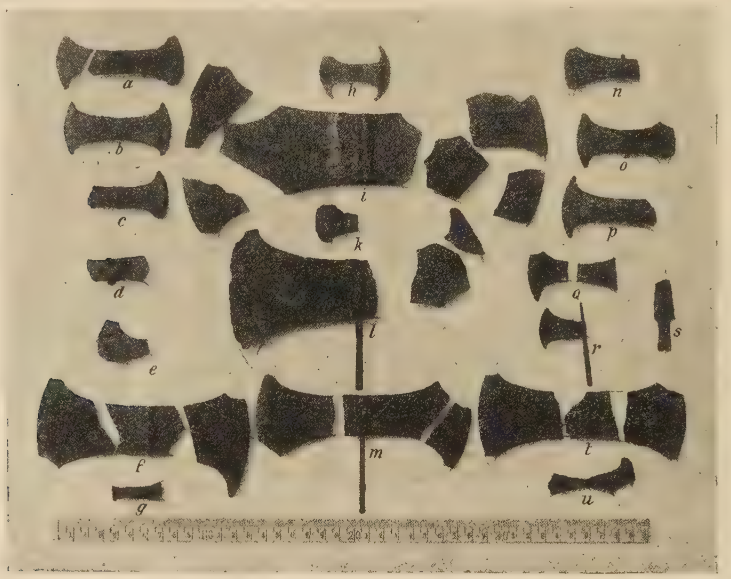

FIG. 9.—DOUBLE-AXES FROM THE CAVE AT ARKALOKHORI. (Scale 1 : 5.)

JOSEPH HAZZIDAKIS.

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[1] The manner in which the votive axes from the Psykhro cave were made is described by Hogarth in *B.S.A.* vi, p. 109.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 35, Fig. 12 (ii, 46).

NOTE.

The director of the laboratory at Canea, M. Joannes Bambakas, has had the kindness at my request to make a chemical analysis of seven small fragments of the blades and swords found in the cave. From the table given below it appears that none of the pieces analysed contain any considerable quantity of tin; at most, one piece yielded 3·28 %, and another 2·8 %. Already in the Middle Minoan period, and naturally therefore in Late Minoan times, the Cretans were acquainted with the art of making an artificial alloy, adding from 8 to 10 % of tin, which made the metal extremely hard. It appears, however, that these blades belong to a time when the practice of alloying was still unknown, and this would date them to the beginning of the Early Minoan period.[1] Mr. Bambakas, in addition to his chemical analysis, has been good enough to send me the following remarks. 'In spite of the imperfection of their apparatus, the metallurgy of the ancients may be considered fairly advanced. The copper used for these swords was probably native, from Cretan mines. I draw this conclusion from the fact that all the specimens analysed contained silicic acid; I have examined copper ores from many parts of Crete, Gavdos, Kydonia, Selinos, etc., and all contained this acid in large quantities.' This early discovery of the processes of mining and working copper explains to some extent the extraordinary progress of the arts in Crete.

J. H.

TABLEAU D'ANALYSE DES ÉPÉES DE CUIVRE ANCIENNES.

ÉLÉMENTS, DOSÉS ET CHERCHÉS.	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	No. 4.	No. 5.	No. 6.	No. 7.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Matières organiques—Eau, Acide carbonique . . .	10·955	0·388	10·274	22·970	12·835	15·775	20·187
Matières insolubles aux acides (comme Silex). .	2·456	1·200	1·000	1·560	5·400	0·250	2·600
Çuivre métal	84·063	98·026	87·526	73·950	76·985	82·575	73·471
Étain ,, ...	1·053	Néant	Néant	Néant	3·280	Néant	2·800
Fer ,, ...	1·473	0·249	1·200	1·400	1·500	1·400	0·750
Soufre ,, ...	Traces	0·137	Traces	Traces	Traces	Traces	0·192
Plomb ,, ...	Néant	Néant	Néant	Néant	Néant	Néant	Traces
Antimoine ,, ...	Traces	,,	,,	0·120	Traces	Traces	,,
Arsenic ,, ...	,,	Traces	Traces	Traces	,,	,,	,,
Nickel ,, ...	Néant	Néant	Néant	Néant	Néant	Néant	Néant
Zinc ,, ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

JOANNES BAMBAKAS.

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[1] *V.* Mosso, *Le armi più antiche di rame e di bronzo* (*Reale Academia dei Lincei, anno ccciv,* 1907).

PREHISTORIC REMAINS IN SOUTH-WESTERN ASIA MINOR.—III.[1]

PRIMITIVE FIGURINES.

I.—TCHUKURKEND.

THE objects described in this section were found on a small prehistoric site at Tchukurkend on the eastern side of the Beishehir lake between Eflatoun Bounar and Kirili Kassaba. The village of Tchukurkend lies some two hours from the Hittite monument at Eflatoun Bounar and fifty minutes to the S.E. of the small town of Kirili Kassaba. On the previous day, coming from Eflatoun Bounar, I had ridden for the greater part of the way across the lower ground by the shores of the lake and had thus missed the village, but a jeweller in Kirili to whom I showed a small celt, with an enquiry if any were to be obtained in the neighbourhood, informed me that they were often found by the peasants at Tchukurkend.[2] There in the hands of the villagers I found the two human figurines (Fig. 1*A*, *B*), the two animals (Fig. 2*c*, *d*), and the small fragment (Fig. 2*b*). They were all found with certain others which had been destroyed, on a low hill immediately above the village. Here was clearly a small prehistoric site in antiquity, now much denuded, on which I found a large quantity of obsidian, principally of the Melian variety,[3] and a few fragments of the red-faced pottery common on other early sites in the district. The settlement itself differs from others which I have examined in being placed on a slight natural eminence among broken ground, the majority of early sites being situated on the level of the plains,[1] and easily recognised. It was only by the clue provided in the bazaar at Kirili that I was led to the discovery of the present site.

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[1] See *B.S.A.* xvi, p. 89; xviii, p. 80.

[2] The jeweller already possessed one, which he imagined to possess the properties of a touchstone for gold (*mehenk-tash*). In Tchukurkend they were known as *ghiaour-kessere* (ghiaour's adze). Commonly they are known as thunderstones (*yildirim-tash*), and are not infrequently built into walls to ensure stability. I was ignorant of this practice when I described the finding of a celt thus built into a modern house-wall at Elmali. (*B.S.A.* xvi, p. 94.)

[3] See *Classical Review*, xxvi, p. 77.

The larger of the two figurines (Fig. 1*B*) is of a coarse grey-brown limestone, showing slight traces of a red pigment, and is complete except for the head, which from the fresh appearance of the fracture had been only recently broken. The modelling of the figure is of the most primitive description. The arms are short and fat and clasped across the body below the breasts, which are only indicated by a slight swelling, when seen in profile, and are not separated. There is no attempt to indicate the fingers. The upper part of the back is nearly flat, the horizontal scratches between the shoulders having the appearance of being made

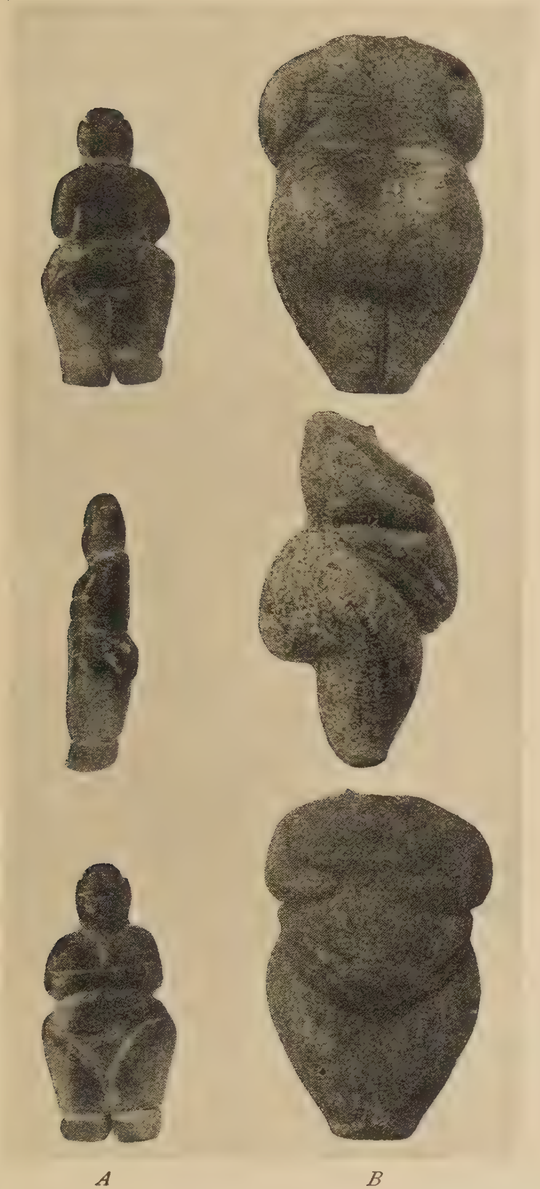

FIG. 1.—FIGURINES OF GREEN STEATITE (*A*) AND LIMESTONE (*B*) FROM TCHUKURKEND.

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[1] *B.S.A.* xvi, p. 90.

recently. The short thick legs are only partially separated by a groove back and front; there is no attempt to indicate the knee-joints, the feet being represented only by a slight thickening at the base. The most salient features are the prominence of the abdomen with its folds of fat, and the developed steatopygia, and it is on these points that the artist has principally concentrated his attention. (Ht. 58 mm.)

The small figure (Fig. 1*A*) is fortunately complete; it is of green steatite, the lower limbs being of lighter colour than the upper. The figure is nearly flat both back and front except for a certain amount of steatopygia. The head has a somewhat pointed appearance, due to the rendering of the ears, which are indicated by a small notch on either side. Small sinkings serve for eyes, the nose is omitted, and the mouth rendered by a gash. The position of the figure is similar to the last. The arms are crossed over the chest, but are rendered in an even more primitive fashion. The hands perhaps must be thought of as joined, but there is no separate indication of either fingers or hands, a groove above and below sufficing to indicate the position of the folded arms. The upper part of the back is flat, the junction of the arm and shoulder being represented by an incision carried up to the arm-pit. The forked incisions on the larger figure are perhaps an attempt to render excessive fat below the shoulder blade. The figure has wide hips and is probably to be thought of as nude rather than as wearing a sheath. The legs are separated only by grooves as in the last example, the feet being even more clumsily indicated. (Ht. 45 mm.)

So far as I am aware these are the first figures from the interior of Asia Minor to show any pronounced steatopygia.

In the case of the seated figure from Adalia,[1] Professor Myres calls attention to the 'marked looseness and grossness of the contours of the figure; while the profile view in particular shows a corresponding protrusion of the abdomen between the hands and feet, which is very carefully modelled and certainly intentional.' Any steatopygia that may have been intended is however concealed by the flat standing-base of the figure and is in no way prominent. There is no sign of it in the small seated figure which I bought in Adalia and publish below (Fig. 5) and the other figurines from the Adalia district, both clay and marble, are flat.[1] There is little or no trace of steatopygia among the Trojan and Yortan figurines, the latter being invariably flat, and Mr. Peet is inclined to regard Asia Minor generally as the home of the flat figurine.[2] The Tchukurkend figures then remain isolated phenomena. It would be rash in the present state of our knowledge of the prehistoric remains of the western part of the Anatolian plateau to pronounce them importations from a foreign source, and still more, in view of the widespread diffusion of the steatopygous type in the Mediterranean, to base any ethnological conclusions on their occurrence in Asia Minor.[3] The position of the site of Tchukurkend however, lying, as I have tried to show elsewhere,[4] on the line of the highway between the Maeander valley and the Cilician gates, is likely enough to have made the inhabitants of this district receptive of foreign influences in art, and the finding of Melian obsidian on the site makes it tolerably certain that some form of commercial relations was maintained with the Cyclades. Aegean influence can perhaps be traced in the smaller of the two figures from Tchukurkend.[5] With regard to the larger figure the matter is less certain. There are traces of steatopygia in some of the figurines of neolithic date in Crete,[6] though in many cases the figures seem to be merely squatting.[7] In the Cyclades the phenomenon is occasional but never common.[8] Certain isolated examples reported to have been found in Southern Greece are dealt with by Messrs. Wace and Thompson,[9] and regarded by them as of northern origin. The larger of the

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[1] *J.A.I.* xxx, pp. 251–256, Pl. XXIV. It is perhaps worth while to correct a misapprehension that might arise from Dussoud, *Civilisations Préhell.* p. 221, who quotes this figurine as from Lycia. The technique and style show it to belong to the same civilisation as the figurines published by Mr. Peet (*Annals*, ii, p. 145), which were also bought at Adalia, but have been shown by the discovery of a similar fragment on a mound at Fugla (*B.S.A.* xvi, p. 104) near Tchai Kenar, the reported find-spot of Mr. Peet's figures, to belong to the early civilisation of the Hinterland rather than to the coastal districts.

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[1] See below, p. 57 f.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 147.

[3] See Myres in *El Amrah*, p. 73. On the wide diffusion of steatopygous figurines see Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, pp. 160-164, where the principal references are collected.

[4] *C. R. loc. cit.*

[5] There is a figurine of almost similar form, except that it is not steatopygous and shows differences of the head, in the Liverpool Public Museum; it was bought in Athens, and is probably of Cycladic origin. The head is rendered in a way similar to those of the violin-shaped figures.

[6] *B.S.A.* vi, 86; Dussoud, *op. cit.* p. 220.

[7] See Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 232.

[8] *E.g.* Standing figures from Amorgos. *Man*, 1901, p. 185, No. 14; Perrot and Chipiez, vi, Fig. 333. In the case of the last the steatopygia is clearly marked, and in many respects the figure presents a contrast to the normal Cycladic type. That it is, however, of Cycladic workmanship seems certain from the style and technique of the head.

[9] *Op. cit.* p. 225. The provenance of these figures is in every case doubtful.

Spartan figures[1] distinctly recalls that from Tchukurkend in the modelling and treatment of the lower limbs.

It is, however, to the North of the Aegean, in Thessaly and South-eastern Europe, that the steatopygous figurine attains to its most developed proportions. In Thessaly during the first prehistoric period the female figurines are invariably steatopygous, one of the facts which, according to Messrs. Wace and Thompson, separate the Thessalian from the Aegean area, and unite it with the more northerly districts of Thrace.[2] One of the Thessalian statuettes in particular, figured by Messrs. Wace and Thompson,[3] from Avaritsa, shows a close resemblance to Fig. 1*B*. This statuette, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, shows the same treatment of the breasts, with the arms folded below them, a similar protuberance of the abdomen, with its folds of fat and abnormal steatopygia. The legs are rendered in a way similar to our figure, being separated only by a shallow groove back and front, and though there is more attempt to indicate the knee-joint, the feet are represented only by a slight thickening at the base.

It is probably then to the North-west that we must look for the cultural connections of the Tchukurkend figure. It is perhaps too much to expect any direct connection with Thessaly, but the wide diffusion of steatopygous figures in South-eastern Europe[4] suggests that here is the source from which the steatopygous type reached the interior of Asia Minor. Such a connection is rendered possible by the parallelism observable between certain of the figurines from the Milyas and those from the Troad and Hellespontine area,[5] but the absence of any steatopygous figurines at Hissarlik, receptive as it was of cultural influences both from East and West, makes certainty impossible.

Other objects obtained from the site at Tchukurkend included two small stone celts, a polisher of green serpentine, and a small weight of the carinated barrel type, measuring 16 mm., together with the objects represented in Fig. 2 (*b*, *c*, *d*).

The small human face (Fig. 2*b*) is probably from the upper part of a pot, the back being slightly concave, and the ledge above being a part of the pressed-down rim. The clay is blackish with a brown polished slip.

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[1] Perrot and Chipiez, vi, Fig. 334; Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, Fig. 38.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 232, 242.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 170, Fig. 115.

[4] See Hoernes, *op. cit.* p. 208 (Pl. III), p. 211 (Figs. 41–46), p. 227 (Pl. V, Fig. 20).

[5] See below, pp. 58, 59.

Of the two animals the smaller (Fig. 2*c*) perhaps represents a sheep. One horn and ear survive. (Length 32 mm.) The larger (Fig. 2*d*) resembles the figure of an animal from Hissarlik,[1] which is said to be an ox. (Length 41 mm.)

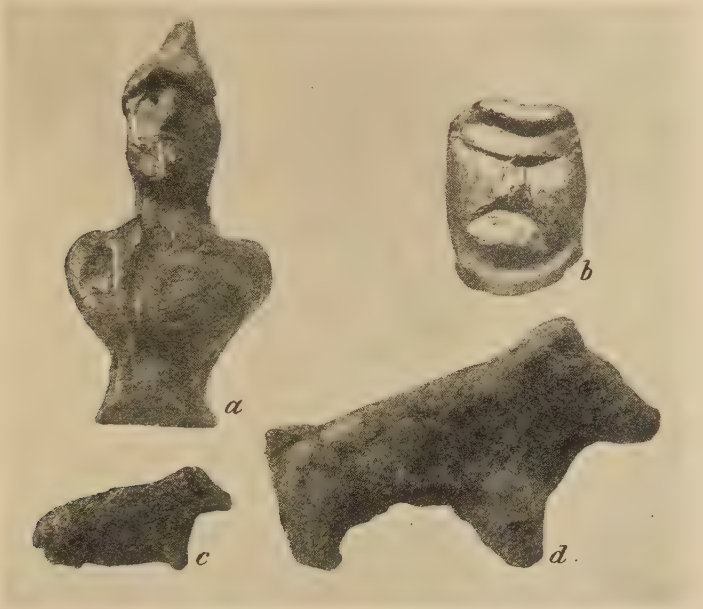

FIG. 2.—FIGURINES BOUGHT AT ISBARTA (*a*) AND TCHUKURKEND (*b*, *c*, *d*).

II.—ISBARTA.

The small clay figure of a warrior (Fig. 2*a*) was bought in the bazaar at Isbarta. It may possibly have come from the mound at Senirdje,[2] but appears to be of considerably later date than the pottery from that site. The figure carries a small round shield and short spear. On his head he wears a small helmet, or more probably leather cap, not unlike the head-dress worn by some of the Cappadocian bronze figurines.[3] The short spears and leather helmets, which Herodotus tells us were carried by the inhabitants of the neighbouring Milyas in the army of Xerxes, perhaps find an illustration in the accoutrements of this figure, which need not be of an earlier date than Herodotus' description.[1] (Ht. 71 mm.)

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[1] *S(chliemann) S(ammlung)*, 7649; *T. u. I.* i, p. 422.

[2] *B.S.A.* xviii, p. 80.

[3] *E.g.* Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, p. 132, Fig. 119, Pl. XXIV, 20. 11. A similar cap is worn by a figure of Seleucid date in Palestine (*Exc. in Palestine*, p. 141, Fig. 53).

III.—THYATIRA.

The seated statuette (Fig. 3) and the three small vases (Fig. 4*a*, *b*, *c*) were obtained in Smyrna by Mr. Hogarth, and by his kindness I am able to publish them. They are said to have been found in the neighbourhood of Thyatira.

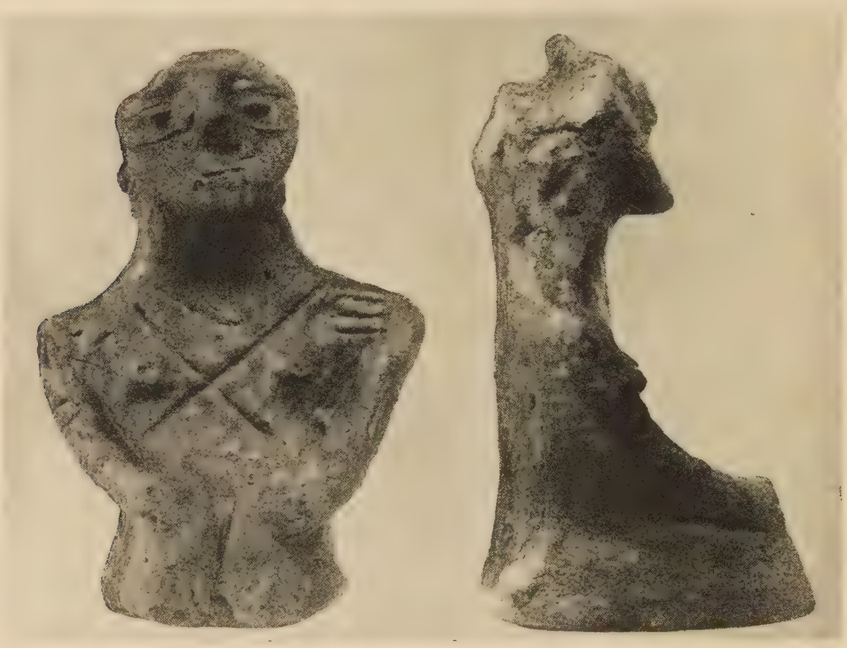

FIG. 3.—CLAY FIGURINE FROM NEAR THYATIRA.

The figure is made of a coarse buff clay, firmly baked and covered with a red glaze, which tends to flake off, and is similar in technique to the red-faced pottery of the Pisidian area. It represents a woman seated with hands on knees, the modelling of the lower limbs being sacrificed to the flat standing-base. The back is almost flat. In the base is a small punctured hole, and there are two small holes, perhaps unintentional, in the lower part of the back. The face is formed by a flat disk pinched forward out of the clay, and to this is due the protrusion of the chin, and the horn-like excrescence on the top of the head, when seen in profile. The eyebrows are slightly projecting; the eyes are rendered by deep oval holes, with scorings above and below to represent the lids. The nose is pinched up out of the clay, and the mouth rendered by a gash. Below the mouth are four short vertical scorings, which give the appearance of a beard, though the figure is undoubtedly female; similar marks appear again on the lower part of the neck. The general expression of the face recalls the well-known lead figure from Hissarlik,[1] and in a lesser degree the female figure on the mould from Selendj, near Thyatira.[2] The present figure is without the plaits of hair which the other figures show. There is the same regularity of the shoulders, but in this case they are more sloping. As in the Trojan example the length of the neck is remarkable though not so great, and there is the same protrusion of the chin. On the neck below the vertical scorings, is incised a V-shaped necklace. The two incisions on the arms perhaps represent bracelets worn on the upper arm as is the case with the heavy ivory armlets worn by Sudanese women at the present day. The three parallel grooves on the left shoulder I am at a loss to explain. It is possible that they may represent the folds of a garment held in place by the crossed bands on the chest, what I have above termed a necklace being the upper edge of the garment. If that is the case, the breasts, which are clearly visible, must be thought of as showing through the garment. On the other hand the figure discussed below (Fig. 6), where a similar ornamentation is to be seen, is certainly intended as nude, as is also the larger of the two figurines from Tchai Kenar, where the cross-sashes appear both on the back and front.[3] It is possible that the bands in all these cases may represent cords or straps worn across the body for carrying weights—sacks or even infants—on the back.

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[1] Hdt. vii, 77. *Μιλύαι δὲ αἰχμάς τε βραχέας εἶχον καὶ εἵματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο· εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα μετεξέτεροι Λύκια, περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἐκ διφθερέων πεποιημένας κυνέας.*

The horned helmets of bronze worn by the unknown people in ch. 76, where Stein *ad loc.* would fill the lacuna by Πισίδαι, may also perhaps be compared with those worn by Cappadocian figurines, *e.g.* Chantre, *op. cit.* Fig. 110.

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[1] *S.S.* 6446. [2] Perrot and Chipiez, *Phrygia etc.* Fig. 209.

[3] *Annals, loc. cit.* Mr. Peet in discussing the Tchai Kenar figures compares the same crossed bands on a Trojan statuette (*Ilios*, Fig. 193, Hoernes, *op cit.* Fig. 22) and a statuette from the Laibacher Moor (Hoernes, Figs. 65–66). Similar bands appear on a small Trojan vase in human form (Hoernes, Fig. 24).

The position of the figure with chin thrust forward and hands on knees recalls that of two Thessalian male figures,[1] but the likeness is probably only fortuitous, the figure being thought of as sitting on its heels, much in the same way as the modern Anatolian.[2] (Ht. 97 mm.)

The three miniature vases (Fig. 4*a*, *b*, *c*), said to have been found with the last figurine, are interesting as a proof of a South-easterly extension of the culture represented by the cemetery at Yortan in the lower Caicus valley, which is parallel to that of the second city at Hissarlik.[3] Vases of similar technique have been found by Wiegand in northern Mysia near Panderma.[4]

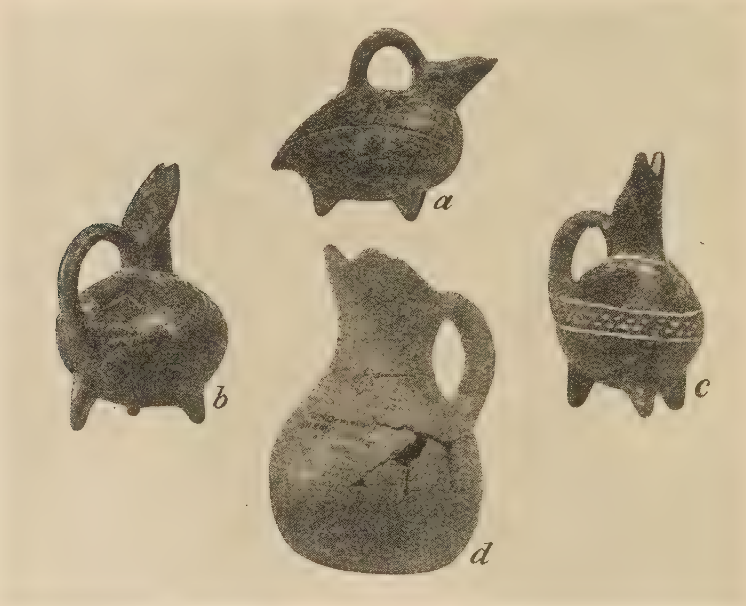

FIG. 4.—MINIATURE VASES (*a*, *b*, *c*) FROM NEAR THYATIRA AND VASE (*d*) BOUGHT AT ISBARTA.

Fig. 4*a* is of black highly burnished clay with white filled incisions, which is the case with all three vases. It stands on three small feet, two of which are in front and one behind, and has a horizontal spout and rising handle. This type of vase in the form of an animal is a not uncommon one in the Trojan and Yortan areas.[1] The majority of the Trojan examples are furnished with an animal's head rendered plastically at the pointed end. The present example has an incised line with pendents round the base of the neck, and two small bosses below it. The decoration on the sides resembles folded wings, but it is impossible to say what kind of beast or bird is intended. That all these vases were children's playthings is rendered probable by a pellet of clay or other hard substance inside the vase to make a rattle.

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[1] Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.* Figs. 30, 110.

[2] The same attitude is shown by the Cappadocian figurine quoted above (Chantre, p. 132, Fig. 119).

[3] *C. R. Acad. Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, 1900, pp. 269 *seqq.*

[4] *Ath. Mitt.* xxix, p. 287, Fig. 19.

The small *Schnabelkanne* with high vertical spout and narrow neck standing on three small legs, of which Fig. 4*b* and *c* are examples, is again a type represented both at Hissarlik and Yortan.[2]

Fig 4*b* is of highly burnished black clay. Round the base of the neck are two incised lines, the decoration on the body of the vase consisting of groups of chevrons arranged vertically, with a small boss between each group. The edge of the spout is flattened to form a slight rim. (Ht. 71 mm.)

Fig. 4*c* is of burnished brown clay with a single line at the junction of the neck and body, from which in the front of the vase depends a small circular ornament with a dot in the centre. A wide punctured band surrounds the body of the vase. (Ht. 70 mm.)

The tip of the spout in each case has a small triangular notch to facilitate the pouring, to which a parallel is afforded by the semicircular depression in the lip of the small jug (Fig. 4*d*) which I bought in the bazaar of Isbarta and which may possibly have come from the mound at Senirdje.

IV.—ADALIA.

To the list of primitive figurines obtained previously in Adalia I am able to add the small seated female (Fig. 5). It was bought in Adalia, but I was unable to obtain any information as to its provenance. It is of coarse marble; the lower limbs are not represented, as the figure ends in an oblong base. The back of the head is fractured, and the face much worn and almost featureless. The breasts are indicated close together with a roll of fat below them. The arms are comparatively long and folded across the belly. Round the waist is a broad girdle, which is largely concealed in front by the arms. The back is almost flat except for the girdle and a shallow groove, which runs the whole length of the back at right angles to the girdle. (Ht. 50 mm.)

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[1] From Hissarlik: *Troja*, Nos. 55, 67–9; *Ilios*, Nos. 160, 333–9; *T. u. I.* i, p. 1, Fig. 162; from Yortan: *C. R. Ac. loc. cit.* Pl. I, and a similar example in the Berlin collection.

[2] Hissarlik: *Ilios*, No. 441; Yortan: *C. R. Ac.* 1900, Pl. II, and an example in Berlin.

I may perhaps take this opportunity of correcting a slight error in the account of the circumstances in which the two flat marble figurines, published previously from Adalia, were found.[1] I stated that they were said to have come from a mound at Kutcherdiler-yaila. The finder has since told me that he found them while digging for the foundations of a house several feet below the surface. When publishing them I was moreover not aware of the close parallel which is afforded by a white marble figurine found by Mr. Calvert near Kilia in the Thracian Chersonese.[2] There is a close likeness in the Hellespontine figure to the rounded shoulders and sharp angle formed at the elbows, of the figurines from the Milyas, the forearm being rendered as in the larger of the two figures. The body also is exactly similar in the angularity of the hips. The legs of the Kilia figure are separated, but in a fragment from Hanai Tepe in the

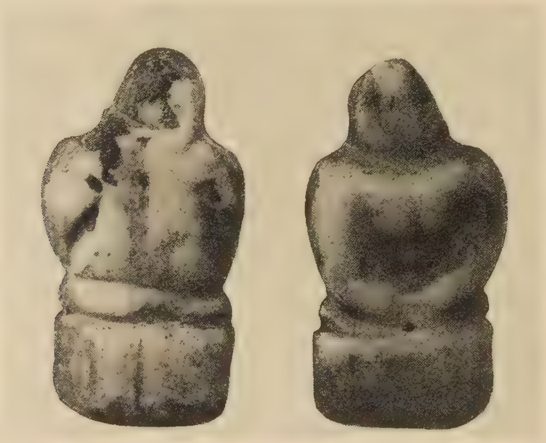

FIG. 5.—MARBLE FIGURINE BOUGHT AT ADALIA.

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[1] *B.S.A.* xvi, p. 105, Pl. VII, 18, 19.

[2] *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1901, p. 329.

Troad, published as a flower and figured in an inverted position,[1] with which Mr. Calvert rightly compares the Kilia figure, it appears that the legs were not separated but rendered as in the figures from Kutcherdiler-yaila. The remarkable parallelism between the two sets of figures argues a close connection between the Hellespontine area and the Milyas.

By the courtesy of the Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum I am permitted to publish the clay figurine (Fig. 6), which was obtained by Mr. Hasluck in Constantinople and presented by him to the Museum. It was said to have been found at Kul Tepe near Caesarea. Mr. E. J. Forsdyke very kindly sends me the following note: 'B.M. 1913, 10–16. 2. Bought at Constantinople as from Kul Tepe. Presented by F. W. Hasluck, 1913. Height, $2\frac{5}{8}$ ins. = 6·65 cm. A flat slab of fairly even thickness, $\frac{9}{16}$ in. = 1·45 cm., with slight projection of breasts, and rounded edges. Fractured at neck and right shoulder.

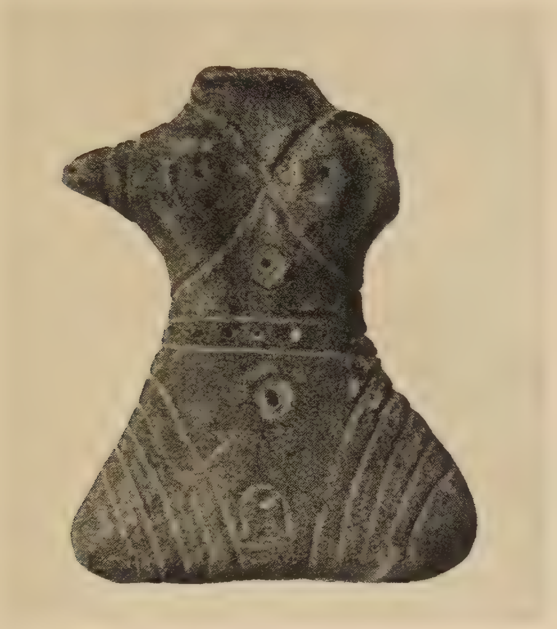

FIG. 6.—CLAY FIGURINE FROM KUL TEPE.

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[1] *Ilios*, No. 1551.

Black clay with surface shading to grey and yellow. The original burnish is partly preserved on back, hardly at all on front. *Bucchero* technique, like the Trojan and other Asiatic pottery. The back is plain, front incised and pierced with deep holes.'

The main interest of the figure is its close likeness to the clay figurines published by Mr. Peet from Tchai Kenar,[1] and the similar fragment from Fugla.[2] That the Cappadocian statuette belongs to the same type of figure cut off at the hips,[3] as that from Tchai Kenar is at once obvious. The proportions of the Cappadocian figure are rather more slender, the stumps which serve for arms being longer and narrower, and the waist smaller. The decoration is of a much less elaborate character. The V-shaped ornament of the Tchai Kenar figures, which Mr. Peet is inclined to compare with that on the Cucuteni figures, is wholly absent. The crossed sashes on the chest are also to be found on the Tchai Kenar figures, but are rendered by punctured bands similar to that which surrounds the waist of the present figure. In the Tchai Kenar figures the navel is represented by a dot surrounded by a circular shallower sinking. In the Cappadocian figure such a mark occurs, curiously enough, both above and below the waistband. All these figures show further details on the lower part of the abdomen.

If the information as to the provenance of the figure is reliable,[4] we have important evidence as to the cultural connections of the Milyas in prehistoric times with Eastern Asia Minor. The parallelism observed between the marble figurines from this district and those from the Hellespontine area suggests an equally close relationship with the North-west. In a final paper I hope to summarise the evidence provided by the distribution of Sub-neolithic and Bronze Age remains in South-western Asia Minor in a discussion of their cultural and geographical relations.

H. A. ORMEROD.

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[1] *Annals, loc. cit.*

[2] *B.S.A.* xvi, p. 104.

[3] Mr. Peet compares certain Trojan examples (*Ilios*, Figs. 216, 220). The small marble figurine published by Mr. Woolley, *Annals*, vi, p. 92, Pl. XXIV, from a tomb at Serrin in northern Syria is again reminiscent of the Tchai Kenar type. The violin-shaped figures of the Cyclades, Hissarlik and Yortan are also perhaps crude representatives of the same type.

[4] Mr. Hasluck tells me that the vendors were natives of Caesarea.

(*To be continued.*)

GEOMETRIC POTTERY AT DELPHI.

FEW terms in archaeology have become as ambiguous as the term Proto-Corinthian. Used at first not unreasonably of a class of small vases found over a wide area, which bear considerable resemblance to Corinthian pottery, the name has come to be applied to a number of vases which differ very widely from the fabrics originally so called. Furtwaengler first extended this term to two vases found near Thebes,[1] and since then the appropriateness of the term has not been seriously questioned. Nowhere is this extension of the term more unsuitable than at Delphi, where a large quantity of Proto-Corinthian ware in the original sense of the term was found,[2] as well as the Geometric pottery which Perdrizet describes as follows:[3] 'le géométrique delphien appartient à la catégorie appelée protocorinthienne par M. Furtwaengler: il est douteux qu'on puisse l'attribuer à une fabrique locale.' The most cursory comparison of the Geometric pottery of Delphi, hitherto classed as Proto-Corinthian, with the Proto-Corinthian originally so called, makes it clear that whatever be the provenance of the Geometric, the same name cannot reasonably be applied to both fabrics. In the real Proto-Corinthian pottery a variety of shapes occurs, all of small size.[4] The most characteristic are the aryballos, the lekythos, the pyxis, and the long-necked, flat-bottomed jug. The Delphic Geometric pottery on the other hand has little variety in its shapes, and, as will be seen below, these differ in size and form from the Proto-Corinthian. Again the distribution of Proto-Corinthian pottery extends over a very wide area ; it occurs all over the mainland of Greece, in Italy and Sicily,[1] and even in Asia Minor.[2] The vases on the other hand which, as will appear later, may be brought in line with the Geometric pottery at Delphi, are few in number, and only found within a small area.

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[1] *Jahrbuch*, iii, p. 248.

[2] *Fouilles de Delphes*, v, pp. 146–155.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 133.

[4] For typical P.-C. shapes see Wilisch, *Altkorinthische Tonindustrie*, p. 6; *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877, Pls. A-B, C-D ; *Argive Heraeum*, ii, pp. 124 ff.

The Geometric pottery found at Delphi is, with few exceptions, all of one type; in striking contrast to this, at a later period various imported wares such as Corinthian, Melian[3] and B.F. and R.F. Attic prevailed. A number of specimens, however, on account of their clay, varnish, and ornamentation are clearly imported. They are the following:—

(1) Amphora of red-brown clay, covered save for a strip on the shoulder with dull, black varnish.[4] The decoration on the shoulder consists of triangles, vertical lines and horizontal wavy lines, and the execution is very poor. The shape finds its nearest parallel in the Black-Dipylon amphora shown in Wide, *Geometrische Vasen*, Figs. 67, 68, but the poorness of the design is against an attribution to Attica, and the provenance of this vase must remain doubtful.

(2) Two fragments of reddish-yellow clay, the varnish being red-brown.[5] They are most likely Tirynthian. The scheme of the cross within a circle occurs at Tiryns[6]; so too does the false spiral consisting of a row of circles joined by tangents,[7] a pattern which is particularly common on the Theran amphorae.[8] On the Delphic pottery the false spiral is unknown.

(3) *Fouilles de Delphes*, Nos. 45, 54 and 55. To judge from the illustrations these are not Delphic.[9] The pattern on No. 54 is typical of Laconian Geometric pottery and the sherd may well be an importation from Laconia.[10]

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[1] *Mon. Antichi*, i, p. 798; *ibid.* xvii; *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 326.

[2] Doerpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, i, p. 309. Koerte, *Gordion*, p. 186.

[3] Perdrizet (*Fouilles de Delphes*, v, p. 145, Nos. 142–144) publishes three sherds which he calls Milesian. Prinz (*Naukratis*, p. 134, note 2) rightly questioned this attribution, though he had only seen photographs of the fragments. Personal inspection has convinced me that they belong to the so-called Melian ware found in such large quantities in Rheneia and unfortunately for the most part still unpublished. (But see *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 46.)

[4] *Fouilles de Delphes*, p. 133, No. 1.

[5] *Ibid.* Nos. 34 and 35.

[6] *Tiryns*, i, Pl. XVII, 1 and 8.

[7] *Ibid.* XVII, 8; XX, 3.

[8] Wide, *op. cit.* Figs. 1–9.

[9] I could not find these sherds when I visited Delphi.

[10] See *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 120, Fig. 1 *h*.

(4) *Ibid.* Nos. 74–81. Perdrizet classes these together and justly calls them 'géométrique négligé.' The fragment No. 80 both in clay and in decoration, closely resembles the amphora No. 1.

Apart from these specimens the Geometric ware at Delphi is quite homogeneous in clay, varnish and decoration. The clay is a pale yellow and mostly has a very decided greenish tinge, rarely is it a pinkish yellow. The varnish on the best specimens is intensely black and has a remarkably fine metallic lustre,[1] but in many cases this has largely worn off. In isolated examples the varnish is bright red, probably through the firing.

Shapes.—The shapes are practically confined to four :—

(*a*) Kraters of medium size.[2] These judging from several fragments which were found, sometimes had ring-stems.[3]

(*b*) Two-handled bowls or *skyphoi*, large or small.[4]

(*c*) Jugs. 1. The commonest form is the jug with trefoil lip.[5] The trefoil-lipped jug is one of the commonest Geometric shapes and occurs in Dipylon ware, in Rhodian Geometric, at Halos and at Tiryns.[6]

2. A less common variety of jug has a round lip with flattened edge.[7]

(*d*) Amphorae. This does not appear to have been a very popular shape as there are only two fragments which can be definitely assigned to amphorae. As both are from the neck of the vase only, the exact shape cannot be fixed with certainty.

Lastly there is one fragment of a pyxis which on account of its clay and varnish, certainly belongs to the local ware.[8]

Decoration.—The most constant decorative scheme on this ware is to cover the body of the vase with a series of narrow horizontal bands. It is precisely this which has caused so much misunderstanding, because largely on account of these bands the term Proto-Corinthian was first used for the Delphic ware, although there is no more widespread ornamentation in Geometric pottery. It occurs on Dipylon ware,[1] on the Geometric pottery of Thera[2] and Tiryns,[3] and also on Proto-Attic vases.[4] Of frequent occurrence too are vertical strokes, and they are especially common as a frame for some more distinctive pattern (Fig. 1 a, f).[5] Zigzag lines, which occur, generally several together, both vertically and horizontally, are very popular (Fig. 1 a).[6] Numerous parallels can be adduced for this scheme, as in Thera, Crete, Boeotia and Tiryns.[7] Fig. 1 b shows a more elaborate form of the ornament; for here the apex of each zigzag is joined to the horizontal bands above and below by short vertical strokes. This is exactly paralleled by a Geometric vase found at Corinth.[8] Besides these accurately drawn zigzags, short vertical wavy lines are very frequent.[9]

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[1] *E.g. Fouilles de Delphes*, Figs. 528, 538.

[2] *Ibid.* Fig. 501.

[3] *E.g.* Fig. 504. For ring-stems elsewhere see *Tiryns*, i, p. 164; *B.C.H.* 1912, p. 499. Some were also found at Halos (*B.S.A.* xviii, p. 23).

[4] Large, *e.g.*, *Fouilles de Delphes*, Figs. 507, 508; small, *ibid.* Figs. 510–512.

[5] *Ibid.* Fig. 528. Perdrizet says of this fragment 'haut de cruche ou d'amphora,' but it is quite clear that it is the neck of a jug, as the curve of the trefoil lip can be clearly traced.

[6] *Ath. Mitt.* 1893, Pl. VIII, 2; *B.C.H.* 1912, p. 501; *B.S.A.* xviii, p. 22; *Tiryns*, i, Pl. XIV.

[7] *Fouilles de Delphes*, Fig. 527.

[8] *Ibid.* No. 56.

The maeander is very common at Delphi, although it is generally simple and never attains the elaboration found on Dipylon ware. The so-called 'Treppen maeander' is unknown. A development, can, however, be traced at Delphi. The simplest form is not continuous (Fig. 1 d);[10] in the next stage the maeander is continuous but still of simple design (Fig. 1 a).[11] *Fouilles de Delphes*, Fig. 501, shows a still more intricate type. These maeanders are always filled in with hatched lines, when, as generally, they form the chief design; but a narrow maeander without hatching, forming one of several narrow bands of decoration, also occurs.[12] The commonness of this ornament makes an enumeration of parallels in other Geometric styles unnecessary. The most striking of all the decorations on these vases is certainly the continuous spiral which occurs

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[1] Wide, *op. cit.* Figs. 48–54; Ἐφημ. Ἀρχ. 1898, Pl. III, 2, and IV, 2; 1912, p. 33, Fig. 10.

[2] Dragendorff, *Thera*, ii, Figs. 344 a–b, 357.

[3] *Tiryns*, i, Pl. XIV, 1.

[4] *Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 45, Fig. 3. Good examples at Delphi are *Fouilles de Delphes*, Figs. 501, 507, 508.

[5] Cf. also *Fouilles de Delphes*, Fig. 506.

[6] Cf. also *ibid.* Figs. 501, 506.

[7] Wide, *op. cit.* Fig. 1–9; *Ath. Mitt.* 1903, p. 102, Fig. 19 (Thera); Wide, Fig. 27; *B.S.A.* xii, p. 35, Fig. 12 (Crete); Wide, Figs. 34, 35, 38, 39 (Boeotia); *Tiryns*, Pl. XX, 3.

[8] *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* 1905, Pl. XII, A. 4.

[9] *E.g. Fouilles de Delphes*, Figs. 505, 507, 508, 548, 549, Parallels elsewhere are Wide, Figs. 32, 33, 36, 37, 40; *Ath. Mitt.* 1903, Beilage xxvi and xxviii.

[10] *Fouilles de Delphes*, Figs. 507 and 528.

[11] *Ibid.* Figs. 505, 508, 509.

[12] *Ibid.* Figs. 509, 520.

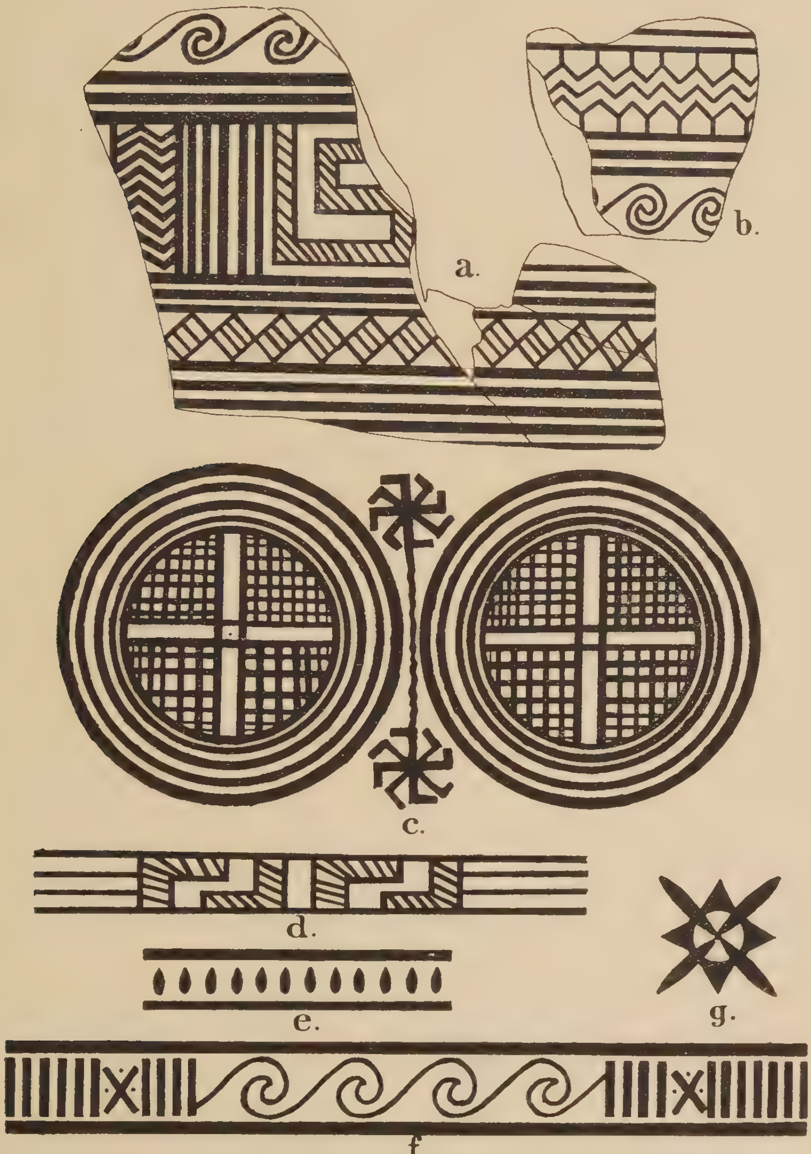

Fig. 1.—Patterns on Geometric Pottery at Delphi. (Scale 1 : 2.)

constantly, both vertically and horizontally. It has already been emphasised that at Delphi the row of circles joined by tangents is unknown. On the other hand the true spiral is rare on other Geometric fabrics[1] but is characteristic at Delphi. Horizontally it is most popular on the neck of kraters and skyphoi (Fig. 1 a and f),[2] but it is also found on the neck of a jug. Arranged vertically its usual place is on the neck of an amphora or jug.[3] In several patterns the main element is a number of concentric circles. The most elaborate and also the most frequent is shown in Fig. 1 c.[4] It consists of two sets of five concentric circles; the innermost circle is divided into four segments by two diameters which are reserved in the clay. The segments are filled with cross-hatching. Between the two sets of circles is a curious wavy line ending at the top and bottom in an eight-armed svastika. In some cases the wavy line continues horizontally over the top of the circles.[5] There are no less than six examples of this scheme. In the nearest parallels to this decoration the segments are always wholly varnished and not cross-hatched.[6] The eight-armed svastika can only be paralleled from Boeotia.[7] Slightly different is *Fouilles de Delphes*, Fig. 514. Here the innermost circle is filled with lines at right angles to each other and parallel to the two diameters. This is closely paralleled by sherds from the Acropolis and the Argive Heraion.[8] On the sherd *Fouilles de Delphes*, Fig. 516, there are simply thirteen well drawn concentric circles. The combination of star and leaf rosette reproduced in Fig. 1 g occurs several times and forms a metope-like panel flanked on either side by vertical strokes.[9] Similar in arrangement is the pattern of alternate 'hour-glasses' and strokes.[10] Fig. 1 e is from the shoulder of a round-lipped jug[1] which is entirely covered with horizontal lines except for a single row of small buds on the shoulder. Lozenges, generally enclosing dots are not infrequent,[2] and in one case at least this is elaborated into a net pattern.[3] On Fig. 1 a the lozenges have two strokes parallel to the shorter sides of the oblong. Lastly a row of S-shaped curves occurs several times.[4]

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[1] The true spiral occurs a few times at Thera (*Thera*, ii, Figs. 316, 321, 327; *Ath. Mitt.* 1903, Beil. vi, 3, and xiv, 5 and 6) and also in Crete (*B.S.A.* xii, pp. 30 and 32). Dragendorff (*Thera*, ii, p. 157) says that this running spiral is constant on Proto-Corinthian ware. He seems to be thinking only of those vases which, as I hope to show, are not P.-C. at all, but Delphic Geometric. I know no example of such a spiral on real P.-C.

[2] See also *Fouilles de Delphes*, Figs. 501 and 507.

[3] *Ibid.* Figs. 528, 529.

[4] *Ibid.* Fig. 513.

[5] As on Fig. 513.

[6] *E.g. Tiryns*, i, p. 154, Fig. 18; *B.C.H.* 1911, p. 356, Fig. 7; Wide, *op. cit.*, Figs. 32, 65, 66; *B.S.A.* xii. p. 41.

[7] Thus it occurs on a Boeotian figurine (*Monuments Piot*, i, Pl. III, and on Boeotian Geometric vases (Boehlau, *Jahrbuch*, iii. p. 352, Figs. 29 and 30: *Ath. Mitt.* 1901, p. 35, Fig. 1).

[8] Graef, *Akropolisscherben*, Pl. X, No. 272; *Arg. Her.* ii, Pl. LVIII, 12 b.

[9] *Fouilles de Delphes*, Fig. 524.

[10] *Ibid.* Fig. 521. The 'hour-glass' occurs frequently on Geometric ware. *E.g. Vases Antiques du Louvre*, A. 266, 298; *B.C.H.* 1911, p. 355, Fig. 6, and 1912, p. 501, Fig. 8.

So far all the patterns which have been considered, have been confined to purely Geometric forms, but human and animal figures are, if not very common, at least adequately represented. Birds are naturally the commonest and the method in which they are drawn varies. Sometimes one leg only is shown,[5] sometimes two,[6] and in some cases they seem to have four.[7] The bodies are generally in silhouette but also occur in outline with hatching.[8] On two examples the birds hold worms or small snakes in their beaks.[9] Other animals represented are the stag, the horse and two boars facing each other.[10] Warriors appear on three sherds. On two a duel seems to have been portrayed, while on the third there is a charioteer.[11] The type of the men is similar to that on Dipylon vases, their bodies being protected by the characteristic 'Boeotian' shield. An interesting technical detail is noticeable on the animal figures. The outline was originally drawn in thinner varnish, with the result that while the body is in good lustrous black varnish, the contour is a bright orange yellow. The whole gives a somewhat polychrome effect.

A small number of vases or sherds from other places, both from their technique and their decoration, clearly belong to the Delphic class. They are the following:—

(1) Oinochoe with trefoil lip found near Thebes.[12] This vase has recently been classed together with a number of Proto-Corinthian jugs from Italy,[13] with which in reality it has nothing in common. Its decoration however, namely the vertical and horizontal spiral, the hatched maeander

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[1] *Fouilles de Delphes*, Fig. 527.

[2] *Ibid.* Fig. 530.

[3] *Ibid.* Fig. 505.

[4] *Ibid.* Figs. 517, 543, 544.

[5] *Ibid.* Fig. 547.

[6] *Ibid.* Figs. 541, 542, 545, 546.

[7] *Ibid.* Figs. 548, 552.

[8] *Ibid.* Figs. 548, 549.

[9] *Ibid.* Figs. 542, 546. This *motif* occurs first on an early vase from Melos (*Excav. at Phylakopi*, Pl. XI, 5). In the Geometric period the Delphic examples may be paralleled by *B.C.H.* 1911, p. 352; *Ath. Mitt.* 1903, Beil. x, 1; *Arg. Her.* ii, Pl. LVIII, 13.

[10] *Fouilles de Delphes*, Figs. 536, 539, 540.

[11] *Ibid.* Figs. 536, 537, 538.

[12] Published by Furtwaengler in *Jahrbuch*, 1888, p. 248.

[13] *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 339.

the row of birds and the zigzag lines, is typically Delphic. For the ship no parallel can be adduced from Delphi but, considering the small quantity of Geometric pottery actually found and its fragmentary condition, this can hardly cause surprise. The ship is certainly not an object which is represented on Proto-Corinthian pottery, but it is not infrequent on Dipylon ware.[1] Another important fact is that this vase was found in Boeotia ; but as it is radically different from the local Boeotian ware, what is more natural than that it should have been imported from the neighbouring Phocis ?

(2) Two-handled bowl found with No. 1,[2] this also has the characteristic ornamentation.

(3) Krater with a foot.[3] This is a Delphic shape and the decoration is no less typical.

(4) Skyphos with a good example of the horizontal spiral.[4] The clay is yellow with a green tinge, the varnish is red. Several sherds at Delphi show a similar redness ; one in particular proves that this is due to firing, as it is partly red and partly black.

(5) Bowl found in the archaic necropolis at Thera.[5] The clay, the varnish, which is a deep metallic black, and the decoration consisting of spiral, maeander and a rather roughly drawn light-armed svastika surmounting a wavy line, all point to Delphi. It is quite different from the other vases with which it is published.

(6) Sherd from Aegina, decorated with a row of birds and horizontal and vertical lines.[6] Pallat admits that both in clay and varnish it differs from the other sherds from the site. The row of birds has an exact parallel at Delphi.[7]

(7) Two fragments of trefoil-lipped jugs from Aegina.[8] They are decorated with vertical spirals, eight-armed svastika, and hatched maeander.

(8) Skyphos in Dresden, from Greece, but its exact provenance

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[1] *E.g. J.H.S.* xix, Pl. VIII. Reinach, *Répertoire des Vases Peints*, p. 190, 4.

[2] Figured in *Jahrb.* 1888, *loc. cit.*

[3] Dragendorff, *Thera*, ii, p. 190, Fig. 382.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 191, Fig. 383.

[5] *Ath. Mitt.* 1903, Beilage xxxiii, 1.

[6] *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, p. 278, Fig. 10.

[7] *Fouilles de Delphes*, Fig. 547.

[8] Furtwaengler, *Aegina*, i, p. 449, Nos. 172, 173.

unknown.[1] The varnish is an intense black and the decoration characteristic. Vases with the lower half of the body entirely varnished occur also at Delphi.[2]

A rather minute analysis of the Delphic Geometric pottery has been necessary for two reasons: in the first place to show that its various decorative *motifs* either do not occur at all, or only rarely, on Proto-Corinthian ware,[3] and secondly, to make it quite clear that the ornamentation on the Delphic Geometric has parallels on most of the other Geometric fabrics. It is most nearly related to the Attic style, for besides the absence of a slip on both, there is a close resemblance in the animal and human figures and in the linear ornaments. Of north Greek Geometric pottery unfortunately comparatively little is known, but there are a few points of similarity with the Halos ware and the Boeotian Geometric. Great originality cannot thus be claimed for the Delphic pottery, but it is at least not unimportant that another example can be added to the list of local Geometric fabrics, and that this fabric was not entirely confined to the place in which it was made, but was to some extent exported.

M. L. W. LAISTNER.

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[1] *Jahrb.* 1892. *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, p. 162, No. 24.

[2] *Fouilles de Delphes*, Figs. 511 and 512.

[3] Thus the 'hour-glass' occurs on a skyphos in Munich (*New Catalogue*, 216) which is classed there as Proto-Corinthian.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF MEGARA.

ACCORDING to early investigators of the topography of the Megarid, the sites of Minoa and Nisaea were identified, the former with the small hill surmounted by a mediaeval castle standing in the middle of the coast-line in front of Megara, and the latter as the hill upon which is the church of St. George, above the hamlet of Pachi (Fig. 4). Spratt[1] was the first to suggest this identification, which he based both on the existence of remains of ancient buildings around the small hill and on the assumption that it was originally severed from the land (Fig. 1).

His view was subsequently confirmed by Lolling.[2]

It has, however, recently been suggested[3] that the site identified as Nisaea is really the site of Minoa, while that given to Minoa is the real Nisaea. This reversal of the accepted identification is based on the fact that when Demosthenes in 424 made his attempt to capture the Long Walls of Megara, reinforcements were sent from Athens by land *via* Eleusis. These reinforcements, it is urged, would have taken up their position immediately outside the eastern Long Wall of Megara, as it would have been both difficult and dangerous to make the long circuit round the north of Megara and camp outside the western wall. Since, therefore, Minoa is expressly described by Thucydides as being at the end of the Long Wall near which the Athenians camped, it can only be placed on the hill of St. George. The same arguments used by previous writers to explain the difficulty of the title of *νῆσος*, as given to Minoa, are used in this case in regard to the other hill and it is assumed that the marsh now lying to the east of the village of Pachi extended right round the hill and joined the sea.

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[1] *Journal of the Geographical Society*, vol. viii, part ii, p. 205.

[2] *Ath. Mitt.* v, p. 1.

[3] *Ath. Mitt.* xxix, p. 79.

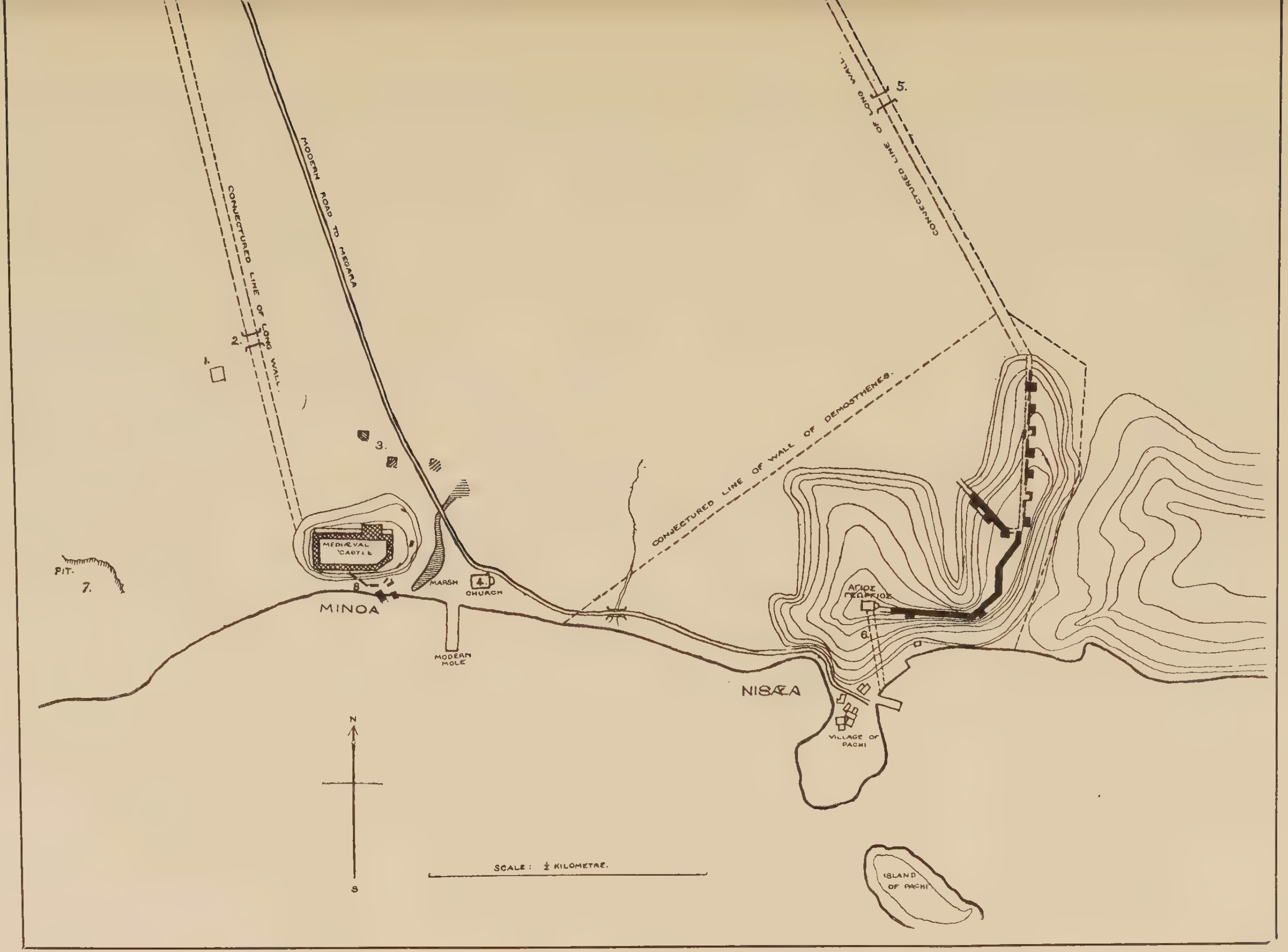
MODERN ROAD TO MEGARA
CONJECTURED LINE OF LONG WALL.
CONJECTURED LINE OF LONG WALL.
CONJECTURED LINE OF WALL OF DEMOSTHENES.
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8
PIT.
MEDIÆVAL CASTLE
MARSH
CHURCH
MINOA
MODERN MOLE
NISÆA
ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ
VILLAGE OF PACHI
ISLAND OF PACHI
N
S
SCALE: ½ KILOMETRE.

FIG. 1.—PLAN SHOWING THE TOPOGRAPHY OF MEGARA.

1. Approximate Site of the Ἐνυάλιον.
2. Approximate Site of the Gate in the western Long Wall.
3. Foundations of the Bridge.
4. Site of the Ποσειδώνιον.
5. Approximate Site of the Gate in the eastern Long Wall.
6. Continuation of the main Wall of the Acropolis.
7. Possible Site for the Ὄρυγμα.
8. Fifth-century Walls and Site of Tower. (See Fig. 2.)

How far this identification of the sites is correct will be seen by an analysis, in the light of present conditions, of the topographical evidence given by Thucydides in his description of events connected with the two places.

There were altogether during the Peloponnesian War two expeditions to the coast of Megara.

The first[1] was in 427, when Nikias sailed to Minoa, which was used by the Megareans as a *φρούριον*.[2] He besieged the island and, apparently after little or no resistance, captured it. The object of the Athenian attack was, according to Thucydides, threefold: it was to enable Athens to have a *φυλακή* nearer than Budorum in Salamis, to prevent raids and *λῃστῶν ἐκπομπαί* and to blockade Megara. There were three distinct operations on the part of Nikias: the first was the capture of *δύο πύργω προέχοντε . . ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας*. The second is described in the phrase *τὸν ἔσπλουν ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς νήσου ἐλευθερώσας*. By the third he *ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου, ᾗ κατὰ γέφυραν διὰ τενάγους ἐπιβοήθεια ἦν τῇ νήσῳ, οὐ πολὺ διεχούσῃ τῆς ἠπείρου.*

The second expedition[3] was in 424, when Demosthenes and Hippokrates made a sudden dash by sea upon Minoa at night-time. The latter with six hundred hoplites took up his position *ἐν ὀρύγματι ὅθεν ἐπλίνθευον τὰ τείχη καὶ ἀπεῖχεν οὐ πολύ*. The former with a force of Plataean *ψιλοί* lay in ambush at the *Ἐνυάλιον* (or *Ἐνυαλεῖον*).

Arrangements were then made with traitors within the Long Walls to enable the Athenians to enter. Certain men, who were the traitors, had been in the habit of conveying a boat (*ἀκάτιον ἀμφηρικόν*) secretly by night to the harbour, and there running the blockade *ὡς λῃσταί*. They had made a point of getting the permission of the governor to open the gates and had then carried the boat down on a waggon. They subsequently carried it back again before dawn *κατὰ τὰς πύλας . . . ὅπως τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Μινώας Ἀθηναίοις ἀφανὴς δὴ εἴη ἡ φυλακή, μὴ ὄντος ἐν τῷ λιμένι πλοίου φανεροῦ μηδενός*.

The Athenian plan was to rush the gates with the connivance of the traitors when the waggon which conveyed the boat was half-way through.

This they did and the Plataean *ψιλοὶ ἐπέδραμον οὗ νῦν τὸ τροπαῖόν ἐστι* and, once within the gates, they got possession of the walls.

The Peloponnesian garrision resisted for a time, but finally fled to

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[1] Thuc. iii, 51.

[2] Pausanias (viii, 6, 1) also calls it a *φρούριον*.

[3] Thuc. iv, 67.

Nisaea, and the Athenians, who now held all the land between Megara and the sea, proceeded to negotiate for the capture of the walls of the town itself. But the treachery within the city was discovered and they retired. They then turned their attention to Nisaea, which *εὐθὺς περιετείχιζον*, and they sent for material and workmen from Athens to enable them to carry out their work quickly. Meantime, during their negotiations with the traitors in Megara, four thousand hoplites and six hundred horsemen had come from Athens during the night.

The walling round of Nisaea is described as follows: *ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὃ εἶχον καὶ διοικοδομήσαντες τὸ πρὸς Μεγαρέας, ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἑκατέρωθεν ἐς θάλασσαν τῆς Νισαίας, τάφρον τε καὶ τείχη διελομένη ἡ στρατιά.*

Later on in the fourth book[1] Thucydides mentions the following important points in regard to the topography of Nisaea. By the treaty of 423, he says, the Athenians in Nisaea and Minoa were not to go beyond the road which led *ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν παρὰ Νίσου, ἐπὶ τὸ Ποσειδώνιον ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐς Μινώαν.*

Now the operations of Nikias during the first expedition are by no means clear. The phrase *δύο πύργω προέχοντε . . . ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαῖας* is not very definite. Jowett[2] gives the alternative translations of 'two towers on the side of the island towards Nisaea' or 'two towers projecting from Nisaea.' The latter rendering, however, can plainly be ruled out, as the operations of Nikias are distinctly limited to Minoa and the second act appears to be incidentally the result of the first. By 'freeing the channel' he presumably destroyed a bridge. But from the text of the treaty of 423 it is clear that there *was* a bridge joining Minoa to the mainland. It is, therefore, safe to infer that there was no bridge from 427 to 424, but that, as soon as the Athenians had got possession of the Long Walls, they linked up Minoa to the mainland, and the bridge thus built, perhaps on the site of that destroyed by Nikias, is that mentioned in the treaty.

There are at the present day on the small hill crowned by the mediaeval fortress, fairly extensive remains unconnected with the mediaeval walls, of a wall of Hellenic structure of the close-fitting semi-polygonal type common in the fifth century.[3] It runs along the south side of the hill in a south-easterly direction and comes to an end at an angle with a return side running north-east. In a line with the south-eastern side there are remains of a wall in the sea—a continuation, as it were, of the wall on the hill. This latter was identified by Spratt as a mole. From its direction, however, which is distinctly *ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας*, it might well be one of the two projecting towers. Arnold's suggestion,[1] therefore, that one of the towers was probably on the end of a mole running out from Minoa and the other on a corresponding mole which ran out to it from the mainland, is not without foundation.

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[1] iv, 118. [2] Vol. i, p. 201.

[3] This wall, which is plainly of the utmost importance to any topographical study of the site, appears to have escaped the notice of Spratt and of Lolling, and Bölte and Weicker do not attach any importance to it. See Fig. 3 and 8 on map.

To the north of the hill and to the west of the main road are two square foundations, noticed by Spratt, which are at the right angle and in the right position to have belonged to a bridge or causeway from the hill across the intervening morass, to firm land.

The third part of the operations of Nikias implies the existence of a wall along the north side of the hill; but there are little or no traces of walls on that side, and as the mediaeval buildings have encroached on the hillside to a greater extent on the north than on the south, there is little chance of finding any wall there.

The account of the expedition of Demosthenes and Hippokrates is hardly plainer than that of the previous expedition. Not the least of the difficulties is the uncertainty of the meaning of the text. The two positions at the *ὄρυγμα* and the *Ἐνυάλιον* are obviously near together and both near the walls, the latter, according to Thucydides, being the nearer. But the exact method of the conveyance of the boat is uncertain. It was, as subsequent events showed, taken through a gate in the Long Walls and conveyed down a ditch at the side of one of the walls to the sea. Of the two walls it is almost certain that the wall which ran near Minoa is meant.[2]

It is obvious, therefore, that the boat was launched (or would have been launched, according to the story the *λησταί* told their *ἄρχων*), on the west side of Minoa outside the harbour, for the west Long Wall must have ended opposite the middle of Minoa, or more probably at the west end of the island, and certainly not at the east end. The difficult phrase *ὅπως . . . . ἀφανὴς δὴ εἴη ἡ φυλακή, μὴ ὄντος ἐν τῷ λιμένι πλοίου φανεροῦ*

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[1] Vol. i, p. 414.

[2] If the site of the Long Wall has been rightly identified (see below, p. 78), the boat could not possibly have been conveyed outside the walls there, as the ground is too steep and rocky and there could not have been any ditch.

μηδενός, however, does not mean, as Jowett interprets it,[1] that the Athenian watch would be baffled because 'the vessel would never appear in the harbour at all'; it does not refer to the fact that the Athenian watch was baffled because the boat was always *outside* the harbour, it refers rather to the withdrawal of the boat every night before dawn *within the walls*, the result of which would be that the Athenians would not see it drawn up on the shore. This interpretation is adopted by the scholiast, who paraphrases the sentence into *ὅπως ἀφανὲς δῆθεν ᾖ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τί χρὴ φυλάττεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ὄντος οὐδενὸς ἐν τῷ Μεγαρικῷ λιμένι πλοίου φανεροῦ διὰ τὸ ἐντὸς τειχῶν μεθ' ἡμέραν κρύπτεσθαι τὸ ἀκάτιον, ἄπορον ἦν γνῶναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὑφ' ὧν τινῶν λῃστεύονται.*

The plot by which the Athenians captured the Long Walls was eminently successful. The site of the two positions taken by the two parts of their forces is necessarily dependent on the site of the Long Wall between Minoa and Megara. The gate in the wall and the *τροπαῖον* must similarly be close at hand. It is assumed, however, by Bölte and Weicker that there was no gate in the western wall.[2] The reason given for this assumption is quite inadequate and the course of events suggests that there was a gate in each wall, for the forces from Eleusis arrived after the capture of the Long Walls, and it would therefore be easy for the Athenians, who had entered by the West Gate, to let in their reinforcements by the East Gate. It would also be extremely unlikely that there was a gate in only one of the Long Walls. The Long Walls of Athens, on which those at Megara were modelled, had more than one gate in each wall.[3] The chief obstacle, then, to placing Minoa on the west thus disappears.

The Athenian siege of Nisaea was no small undertaking. The suggestion that if the hill of St. George is Nisaea, it could not possibly have been walled off in two days, which is the time Thucydides gives to the operation,[4] is of no importance, for the Athenians, as the historian expressly states, had sent for material and workmen from Athens for the very purpose of doing the work in the shortest possible time.

What exactly was the nature of the operations is not quite clear.

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[1] *Op. cit.* i, p. 289.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 84. 'Wenn der peloponnesische Kommandant sich bereden lässt, in der dem Feinde zugekehrten Mauer ein Tor zu öffnen, so muss mann schliessen dass es in der andern Mauer kein Tor gab.'

[3] See Kaupert's large map: 'Die Halbinsel Peiraeus.'

[4] See *Ath. Mitt.* xxix, p. 87.

Their main object was certainly to cut off Nisaea from Megara. This the Athenians did by building a cross-wall—as Thucydides says—from the Long Wall at Nisaea (*ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὃ εἶχον*) to the sea. If, however, Jowett's translation is correct they drew another, or rather two others, from the cross-wall to the sea. But this would involve a quite needless waste of time and labour and it seems better to refer *ἐκείνου* in the phrase *ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἑκατέρωθεν ἐς θάλασσαν* to the *τεῖχος ὃ εἶχον* of the preceding sentence, and not to the *τεῖχος* implied in *διοικοδομήσαντες*. The wall built would thus start from the inside and from the outside of the Long Wall and run thence to the coast on each side both of Nisaea and of the Long Wall, being roughly of a Λ shape.

Now there are at the present day extensive remains of walls on the hill of St. George, which are shown correctly but insufficiently on Spratt's and Lolling's maps and incorrectly on Kaupert's survey.[1] A large wall about two metres broad starts at the church and runs almost due east along the ridge of the hill. As this ridge curves round to the north the wall follows it in three angular bends until it runs due north. Between the church and the last bend are remains of one tower only, facing the south near the church: at this point the wall is about one-and-a-half metres high. At the point where the wall runs due north a second wall meets it, running due north-west down a steep slope to a small valley on the north side of the hill. It can only be traced half-way down the hill and has three towers on the west side, with a double width of wall between the last two. The main wall continues down the eastern spur of the hill at a steep angle, almost down to the plain. It has altogether seven towers, all on the east side, but it is not so well preserved here as on the summit.

Now Spratt calls the wall modern and Lolling did not think it was very old,[2] but there seems to be no doubt whatever that it is ancient. It is built of rough unshaped blocks of rock, without mortar, and is of a type frequently found on ancient sites (Fig. 2). The Phokian wall at Thermopylae, and the walls of the so-called Herakleion at Marathon are built in exactly the same way and the former has towers of much the same dimensions.

Bölte and Weicher, however, who have to explain these walls to fit in with their identification of the hill with Minoa, recognise them as the wall with which Nikias *ἀπετείχιζε τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου*, and believe that

[1] Section 4 (Salamis).

[2] *Ath. Mitt.* xxix, p. 14.

the original tower of the Megarean fortress stood on the site of the church. But, as Thucydides expressly stated that the wall of Nikias was ᾗ κατὰ γέφυραν and as the main wall which extends from the church round to the plain was built to cut off the hill *from the sea* and from the east, as the alignment of its towers shows, and so could not possibly be in any relation to a bridge to the mainland, the identification seems quite without reason.

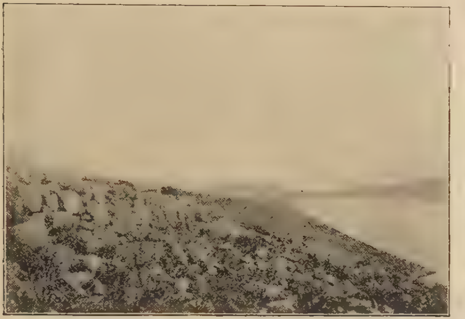

FIG. 2.—THE WALL ON THE SUMMIT OF THE HILL OF ST. GEORGE.

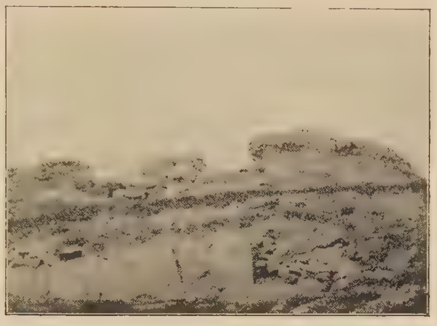

FIG. 3.—FIFTH-CENTURY WALL (IN FOREGROUND) AT THE FOOT OF MINOA. (See 8 on Map.)

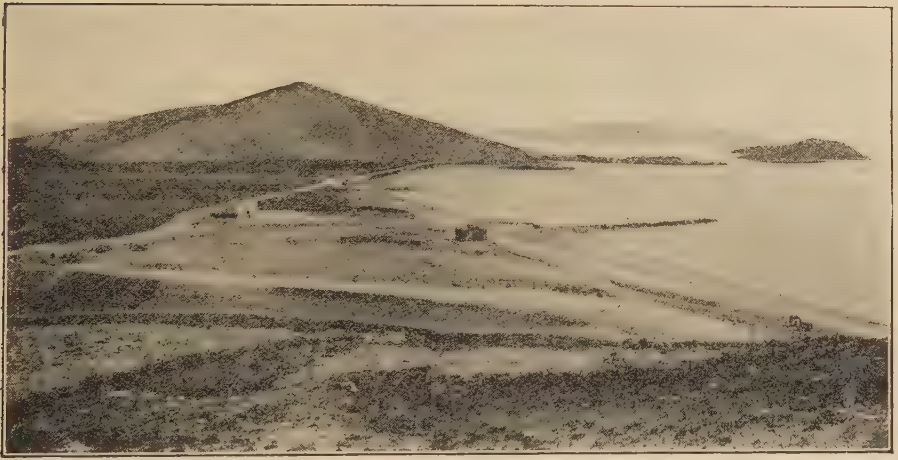

FIG. 4.—HILL OF ST. GEORGE FROM THE MEDIAEVAL CASTLE.

From the general appearance and position of the main wall, therefore, it seems better, without definitely identifying the hill either as Minoa or Nisaea, to recognise it as the chief defence of the acropolis built early in the fifth century when the hill belonged to Megara, and to suppose that it continued from the church southwards, to the village of Pachi, and that at the point where it ran down to the plain on the north an eastern Long Wall was built to join it. The extremity in each case has disappeared owing to the ease with which a wall on the level could be dismantled by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

The second and shorter wall which runs to the north-west is rather difficult to explain. Perhaps it represents the line of fortification which the main wall followed before the Long Walls were built—a line presumably running along the northern and western slopes of the hill, and so round again to the church, forming the circuit wall of a separate fortress, which the hill must have been before the Long Walls were built. The fact that the towers are on the west side, however, is an argument against this view, and it might, perhaps, judging by the position of these towers, be the wall which preceded the main wall running eastwards from the church before the Long Walls were built, and rendered obsolete by the inclusion, at a later date, of the peak on which the church stands in the defences of the hill.

In any case it seems impossible to identify it either with the wall of Nikias or with the *περιτείχισμα* of Demosthenes. Each of these was of so temporary a nature that it is hardly likely that even traces could remain.

The road mentioned in the treaty of 423 clearly ran east and west, whether the bridge is placed at the hill of St. George or at the smaller hill. But that it did not run in a straight line seems suggested by the mention of the *Ποσειδώνιον*, which is a middle point at which it might well have bent at an angle. The modern road (Fig. 4) does not seem to be in the same position as the rough track which Spratt shows. But it runs almost east and west and is most probably on the site of the ancient road. The *Ποσειδώνιον*, which, presumably was near the sea, might therefore, well be on the site of the little church near the modern mole east of the small hill, and the road in ancient days, as now, would have bent at that point at a slight angle to the north and passed close to the bridge. If the square bastion foundations now at the west of the road and north-east of the mediaeval castle really represent the bridge of Minoa—and it is hard to explain them otherwise—then the line of the road is proved and the hill cannot possibly be Nisaea.

This argument is admittedly not based on certainty, but the absence at the other hill of any traces either of a bridge from the hillside to the plain, or of a building which might be the sanctuary of Poseidon are in its favour. Further, the assumption of Bölte and Weicker that the hill of St. George was originally an island seems quite without foundation, for, although the marsh might have extended round the northern end of the hill, it could not possibly have been at the foot of the steep slope which is crowned by the turreted wall, and, failing that, the only way to evolve an island at all at this place would be to include the long hill to the east of church ; and to do that would be to make Minoa so large as to be impossible to defend ; it would also render the main wall defending the east side of the hill quite meaningless. The absence of any traces of fortifications east of the turret-wall is important in this connection.

The hill previously identified as Minoa, on the other hand, has, without any doubt, been originally an island, or at least an island according to the description of Thucydides, *i.e.* cut off from the mainland by marshes. If, as the writers above referred to believe, the eminence of St. George was once an island, the same argument must apply with much greater force to the other hill, with the result that the argument for the former is weakened. On the other hand, while everything points to the existence of marshes round the smaller hill, this argument does not apply *a fortiori* to the larger. All that one is justified in inferring is that, if there were marshes round the former they would, perhaps, extent round to the back of the latter hill. It needs much stronger geological evidence to show that they made it a complete island.

But at the present day there are no traces whatever of marsh-land on the north of the hill of St. George, while, as Spratt and others have noticed, round the east side of the other hill is a stretch of water, some 25 feet wide, which passes through a channel under the main road, and at the west and north sides the ground is marshy.

The case for the identification of the smaller hill with Minoa thus seems very strong. The occurrence of Mycenaean pottery[1] on the hill is further evidence which must not be neglected in view of the name and Cretan traditions of Minoa. Nothing of a similar nature has been found on the other hill, which is mostly of rock and has no earth stratification.

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[1] *Ath. Mitt.* xxix, p. 95.

There remains one other question which has not been touched upon by previous writers. As in 427 Athens held Minoa and yet had not got possession of the land between the Long Walls, which is clear both from the description of the expedition and in particular from the fact that Nikias built an *ἀποτείχισμα* to defend Minoa from the mainland, it seems certain that there was a cross-wall along the coast between the two Long Walls; otherwise it would have been an easy matter for the Athenians to land a force of almost any size they wished between the Long Walls, and the attack made by Demosthenes would have been a farcical waste of time. Since the Long Walls were copied from those of Athens the cross-wall would be the equivalent of the walls from Eetioneia to Munychia harbour, or to the inner cross-wall on the north slopes of Munychia hill. The Long Walls were built soon after 455, but this cross-wall need not necessarily have been built at the same time, for, as long as the Megareans held Minoa, it would be almost impossible for an enemy to effect a landing. It was probably built just before 427, when an attack was to be expected at any moment; it might even have been put up hurriedly immediately after the fall of Minoa.

There are, unfortunately, no traces above ground of such a wall, but it must have followed the line of the modern road between the two hills.

The extent of the harbour of Nisaea cannot be definitely settled, but, as it had to hold a large number of ships on several occasions, it may have included both the natural harbour immediately on the west of the promontory of Pachi and the modern artificial harbour on the east side. Westwards it could not have extended beyond the Hellenic wall which projects into the sea. That it extended as far is clear both from the use of Minoa as a blockade station and from the tradition that it was at Minoa that the Cretan fleet was anchored.[1]

Except Thucydides no other author gives any evidence that is at all helpful. Pausanias,[2] who had plainly visited the Megarean plain, merely says that Minoa, *νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη παρήκει τὴν Νισαίαν*. Strabo,[3] who could not have seen the place, describes Nisaea as being eighteen stades from Megara, but any arguments which previous writers have based on this, cannot but be invalidated by his conclusion that *ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο* (*i.e.* the harbour of Nisaea) *Μινώα.*

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[1] Steamers of fairly large draught come in quite close to the modern mole at the foot of the small hill.

[2] i, 44. 3.

[3] ix, 1. 4.

The events, therefore, which Thucydides describes as having taken place on the coast of Megara all point to the identification of the small hill with Minoa and the larger hill of St. George with Nisaea. Without systematic excavation, perhaps, the identification cannot be definitely proved, but to invert the order of the sites involves too many contradictions and leaves a large part of the recorded history of the places in inexplicable confusion. The main argument drawn from the arrival of the Athenian troops from Eleusis is seen to be quite inconclusive, and upon it the minor arguments largely depend.

S. CASSON.

PROXENY DECREES FROM MEGARA.

At the west end of the mediaeval castle on the Megarian Minoa the front surface of the west wall has fallen away. The foundations of the wall thus laid bare consist of large square blocks of poros and blue limestone from Hellenic buildings. The corner block is of blue limestone and is inscribed in three columns on its upper surface. On the face of the second and third columns are traces of mortar which show that there was originally a course above the stone. The block is 1·12 m. in breadth and ·55 m. in height. Its depth cannot be ascertained, as it is buried almost up to the surface. At the top is a margin 10 cm. in width, extending along the whole length of the stone. The inscription is below the margin, and the three columns are separated by vertical grooves. The first column is ·355 m. in breadth, the second ·32 m., and the third ·265 m.

I.

ΕΠΙΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣΠΑ ΙΔΩΡΟΥ
ΕΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΕΒΟΥΛΑΙΚΑΙΔΑΜΩΙ Α
ΜΝΑΣΙΘΕΟΥΕΣΤΡΑΤΑΓΟΥΝΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ
ΔΙΟ ΤΟΥΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣΗΡΟ ΡΟΥ
ΠΥΡΡΟΣΔ ΚΛΕ ΔΑ
ΕΥΠΑΛΙΝΟΣΜ ΑΣΙΘΕΟΥΠΑΝΙΣΘΟΚΛΕΙΔΑ
Ε ΟΞΕ ΛΑΙΚΑΙΔΑΜ Ι
ΠΕ Η ΩΡΟΣΣΩΤΙΩΝΟΣΙΑΣΕΥ
ΙΑΤΕΛΕΙ ΟΥΣΕΩΝΚΑΙΕΥΕ ΕΤ ΣΤΟΥ
ΔΑΜΟΥ ΟΥΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝΑΓΑΘΑΙΤΥΧ
ΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΤΑΙΒΟΥΛΑΙΚ .Ω ΔΑΜΩΙ

ΠΡΟ ΝΟΝ Ι ΑΥΤ ΤΑΣΠΟΛ Τ Σ
ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ ΙΕΙΜΕΝΑΥΤΩΙΑΣΥΛΙΑΝ
ΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΓΑΝΚΑΙΚΑΤΑ⊙ΑΛΑΣΣΑΝ
ΚΑΙΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΚΑΙΕΙΡΑΝΑΣΕΟΥΣΑΣΚΑΙΠΡ
ΕΔΡΙΑ ΠΑΣΙΤΟΙΣΑΓΩΣΙ ΑΠΟ
ΙΟΗΤ ΑΓΓ ΑΨΑΤΩΔΕΤΟΔΟΓΜΑΤΟΔ
ΡΑΜΜΑΤΕ ΣΤΟΥΔΑΜΟΥ ΣΤΑΛΑ Ι
ΚΑ ΑΝ⊙ΕΤΩ ΣΤΟΟΛΥΜΠΙΕ

II.

ΕΠΙΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣΠΑ ΔΩΡ
ΕΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΕΒΟΥΛΑΙΚΑΙΔΑΜΩΙ
ΠΑΣΙΩΝΜΝΑΣΙ⊙ΕΟΥΕΣΤΡΑΤΑΓΟΥΝ
ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ
ΗΡΟΔΩΡΟΥΠΥΡΡΟΣΔΙΟΚΛΕΙ Α
ΕΥΠΑΛΙΝΟΣΜΝΑΣΙ⊙ΕΟ Π ⊙ΟΚΛΕΙΔΑ
ΕΔΟΞΕΒΟΥΛΑΙΚΑΙΔΑΜΩΙ
ΕΠΕΙΔΗΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣΧ ΡΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΑΛΙΚΑ
ΝΑΣΣΕΥΣΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙΕΥΝΟΥΣΕΩΝΚΑΙ
ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΣΤΟΥΔΑΜΟΥΤΟΥΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ
ΑΓΑ⊙ΑΙΤΥΧΑΙΔΕΔΟΧ⊙ΑΙΤΑΙΒΟΥΛΑΙ
ΚΑΙΤΩΙΔΑ ΡΟΞΕΝΟΝΕΙΜΕΝ ΥΤΟΝ
ΤΑΣΠΟΛΙΟΣΤΑΣΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝΚΑΙΕΙΜΕΝ
ΑΥΤΩΙΑΣΥΛΙΑ ΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΓΑΝΚΑΙΚΑΤΑ
ΑΣΣΑΝΚΑΙΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΚΑΙΕΙΡΑΝΑΣ
ΣΑΣΚΑΙΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑΝΕΝΠΑΣΙΤΟΙΣ
ΑΓΩΣΙΝΟΙΣΑΠΟΛΙΣΤΙ ΗΤΙΑΓΓΡΑΨΑΤΩ
ΔΕΤΟΔΟΓΜΑΤΟΔΕΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣΤΟΥ
ΔΑΜΟΥΕΝΣΤΑΛΑΙΛΙ⊙ΙΝΑΙΚΑΙΑΝ⊙ΕΤΩ
ΕΙΣΤΟΟΛΥΜΠΙΕΙΟΝ

III.

ΕΠΙΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣΑΝΤΙΦΙΛΟΥ
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣΒΟΥΛΑΣΚΑΙΔΑΜ
ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣΕΥΠΑΛΙΝΟΥΕΣΤ
ΤΑΓΟΥΝΦΩΚΙΝΟΣΕΥΑΛΚΟΥΑΡΙΣ

ΤΙΜΟΣΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΕΟΣΔΑΜΟΤΕΛ
ΔΑΜΕΑΘΕΔΩΡΟΣΠΑΓΧΑΡΕΟΣΠΡ
ΘΥΜΟΣΖΕΥΞΙΟΣΤΙΜΩΝΑΓΑΘΩΝ
ΕΔΟΞΕΒΟΥΛΑΙΚΑΙΔΑΜΩΙ
ΕΠΕΙΔΗΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΣΦΥΣΑΛΟΥΑΛΕ
ΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙΕΥΝΟΥΣΕΩΝΤΩΙΔΑΜ
ΤΩΙΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΤΑΙΒΟΥ
ΚΑΙΤΩΙΔΑΜΩΙΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΝΑΥΤΟΝ
ΜΕΓΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΝΤΑΣΠΟΛΙΟΣ
ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΓΚΑΙΕΙΜΕΝΑΥΤΩΙΓΑΣ
ΚΑΙΟΙΚΙΑΣΕΜΠΑΣΙΓΚΑΙΠΡΟΕΔΡΙ
ΕΜΠΑΣΙΤΟΙΣΑΓΩΣΙΝΟΙΣΑΠΟΛΙΣ
ΤΙΑΓΓΡΑΨΑΤΩΔΕΤΟΔΟΓΜΑΤΟΔΕΟ
ΜΑΤΕΥΣΤΟΥΔΑΜΟΥΕΝΣΤΑΛΑΙΛΙΘ
ΚΑΙΑΝΘΕΤΩΕΙΣΤΟΟΛΥΜΠΙΕΙΟΝ

I.

Ἐπὶ βασιλέος Πα[σ]ιδώρου. | ἐγραμμάτευε βουλᾶι καὶ δαμωι [Π]α[σίων] | Μνασιθέου. ἐστρατάγουν Ἀπολλόδωρος | Διο[δό]του, Διονύσιος Ἡρο[δώ]ρου, || Πύρρος Δ[ιο]κλε[ί]δα, | Εὐπαλῖνος Μ[ν]ασιθέου, Πάνις Θοκλείδα. | ἔ[δ]οξε [βου]λᾶι καὶ δάμ[ω]ι· | [ἐ]πε[ιδ]ὴ - - - ωρος Σωτίωνος Ἰασεὺ[ς] | [δ]ιατελεῖ [εὔν]ους ἐὼν καὶ εὐε[ργ]έτ[α]ς τοῦ || δάμου [τ]οῦ Μεγαρέων, ἀγαθᾶι τύχ[αι] | δεδόχθαι τᾶι βουλᾶι κ[αὶ τ]ῶ[ι] δάμωι, | πρό[ξε]νον [ε]ἶ[μεν] αὐτ[ὸν] τᾶς πόλ[ιος] τ[ᾶ]ς | Μεγαρέων, [κα]ὶ εἶμεν αὐτῶι ἀσυλίαν | καὶ κατὰ γᾶν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν || καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας ἐούσας, καὶ πρ[ο]||εδρία[ν ἐν] πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσι[ν οἷς] ἁ πό[λις | τ]ίθητ[ι]· ἀγγ[ρ]αψάτω δὲ τὸ δόγμα τόδ[ε | ὁ γ]ραμματε[ὺ]ς τοῦ δάμου [ἐν] στάλα[ι λ]ι[θίναι] | κα[ὶ] ἀνθέτω [εἰ]ς τὸ Ὀλυμπιε[ῖον].

II.

Ἐπὶ βασιλέος Πα[σι]δώρ[ου]. | ἐγραμμάτευε βουλᾶι καὶ δάμωι | Πασίων Μνασιθέου. ἐστρατάγουν | Ἀπολλόδωρος Διοδότου, Διονύσιος || Ἡροδώρου, Πύρρος Διοκλεί[δ]α, | Εὐπαλῖνος Μνασιθέο[υ], Π[άνις] Θοκλείδα. | ἔδοξε βουλᾶι καὶ δάμωι· | ἐπειδὴ Μενίσκος Χ[αι]ρεστράτου Ἁλικα[ρ]|νασσεὺς διατελεῖ εὔνους ἐὼν καὶ || εὐεργέτας τοῦ δάμου τοῦ Μεγαρεων, | ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι δεδόχθαι τᾶι βουλᾶι | καὶ τῶι δά[μωι

π]ρόξενον εἶμεν [α]ὐτὸν | τᾶς πόλιος τᾶς Μεγαρέων, καὶ εἶμεν | αὐτῶι
15 ἀσυλία[ν] καὶ κατὰ γᾶν καὶ κατὰ || [θάλ]ασσαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ
εἰράνας | [ἐού]σας, καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς | ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἁ πόλις
τί[θ]ητι· ἀγγραψάτω | δὲ τὸ δόγμα τόδε ὁ γραμματεὺς τοῦ | δάμου ἐν
20 στάλαι λιθίναι καὶ ἀνθέτω || εἰς τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον.

III.

Ἐπὶ βασιλέος Ἀντιφίλου. | γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς καὶ δάμ[ου] |
Ἀπολλόδωρος Εὐπαλίνου. ἐστ[ρα]|τάγουν Φωκῖνος Εὐάλκου, Ἀρισ[τό]-
5 ||τιμος Μενεκράτεος, Δαμοτέλ[ης] | Δαμέα, Θέδωρος Παγχάρεος, Πρ[ό]-|
θυμος Ζεύξιος, Τίμων Ἀγάθων[ος]. | ἔδοξε βουλᾶι καὶ δάμωι· | ἐπειδὴ
10 Λυκίσκος Φυσάλου Ἀλε[ῖος] || διατελεῖ εὔνους ἐὼν τῶι δάμ[ωι] | τῶι
Μεγαρέων, δεδόχθαι ταῖ βου[λᾶι] | καὶ τῶι δάμωι, πρόξενον αὐτὸν
[εἶ]|μεγ καὶ εὐεργέταν τᾶς πόλιος [τᾶς] | Μεγαρέωγ, καὶ εἶμεν αὐτῶι
15 γᾶς || καὶ οἰκίας ἔμπασιγ καὶ προεδρί[αν] | ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἁ
πόλις [τίθη]|τι· ἀγγραψάτω δὲ τὸ δόγμα τόδε ὁ [γραμ]|ματεὺς τοῦ δάμου
ἐν στάλαι λιθ[ίναι] | καὶ ἀνθέτω εἰς τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον.

These three decrees belong to the series of Megarian proxeny decrees from the Olympieion, all of which appear to date from the period immediately following the conquest of Megara by Demetrios Poliorketes in 307 B.C. The surface of the stone is very much worn, but only the extreme right-hand edge of the third decree, a space containing four letters in lines 16, 17 and 18, is completely broken away. The first two decrees bear the same date, and are exactly similar in formulae and in style of lettering. In the third the letters are slightly larger and deeper cut, final *ν* is assimilated, and in the list of privileges γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔμπασις takes the place of ἀσυλία. In all three decrees the letters are ornamented with short straight apices, occasionally bent into something approaching the 'swallow-tail' form in the letters E, Σ and Y. In I and II the cross-bar of A is curved downwards: the outer bars of Σ are generally parallel: ⊙, O and Ω are slightly smaller than the other letters: A, Δ and Λ are often apicated at the top with a short vertical mark: the average height of the letters is ·005 m. In III the cross-bar of A though sometimes curved is generally straight: the letters average ·006 m., but ⊙, O and Ω are proportionately smaller than in I and II: the outer bars of Σ are generally parallel but sometimes slanted outwards: A, Δ and Λ are apicated at the top, sometimes by a vertical tick as in I and II, sometimes by a slight prolongation of the left-hand stroke.

I. L. 1. *Πασιδώρου* seems the only possible restoration, though the name appears to be unknown.

L. 2. *Πασίων Μνασιθέου*, restored from II. Mnasitheos, son of Pasion, appears as *στραταγός* under the eponym Pasiadas (*I.G.* vii, 8–11). The names Mnasitheos, Herodoros, Eupalinos are all common in the Megarid.

L. 6. *Πάνις Θοκλείδα* appears in *I.G.* vii, 39, a dedication by six Megarian *θεαροί*, dating from the beginning of the third century. For the Megarian forms *Θοκλείδας* and *Θέδωρος* (III, l. 6) cf. Ditt. *Syll.*^{2} 452 = *S.G.D.I.* 3025 (a list of Megarian arbitrators in a dispute between Corinth and Epidauros), l. 46 *Θέδωρος*, ll. 43, 59 *Θέγειτος*, ll. 55, 78 *Θοκλείδας*, l. 64 *Θοκρίνης*, l. 63 *Θόγνειτος*. Dittenberger (*Syll.*^{2} 452, note 12, and *I.G.* vii, 39) notes that the prefix *Θεο-* at this period becomes *Θε-* before a single consonant, *Θο-* before two consonants, the only exception being *Θέμναστος*.[1]

L. 8. In the name of the recipient there is room for four or five letters before the *-ωρος*. The first letter may possibly be an H, in which case the name might be *Ἡλιόδωρος*.

III. The eponym Antiphilos is not hitherto known, but the same list of *στραταγοί* occurs in *I.G.* vii, 1–7.

L. 9. The name *Φύσαλος* is not given in Pape-Benseler. The ethnic can hardly be anything but *Ἀλεῖος*.

The fourteen proxeny decrees of Megara previously published[2] are all closely similar in formulary. In three of them there is a definite mention of Demetrios Poliorketes, and it has been pointed out that the recipients are either natives of the neighbouring districts of Greece proper, chiefly Boeotia and Peloponnese, or natives of Asia Minor, who may be supposed to have been agents or officers of Demetrios.[3] Thus *I.G.* vii, 5 and 6 are decrees in honour of Erythraians, *διατρίβοντες παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα Δαμάτριον*: *I.G.* vii, 9 and 14 are for natives of Halikarnassos.

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[1] Though there seems to be no very early evidence for this peculiarity at Megara, it may nevertheless have been an early tendency of the Megarian dialect, for a similar form appears at Chalkedon, *Θέγειτος*, *S.G.D.I.* 3055.

[2] *I.G.* vii, 1–14; *S.G.D.I.* 3003–3014.

[3] Monceaux, *Les Proxénies Grecques*, p. 166.

These three decrees are not exceptions to the rule, as the persons honoured come from Iasos, Halikarnassos and Elis.

For the titles of Megarian magistrates see Latychew in *B.C.H.* 1885, pp. 276 ff., where he discusses the constitution of Chersonesos with reference to that of its mother-city Herakleia Pontike, itself a colony of Megara.[1] The eponymous *βασιλεύς* appears in several fragments from Chersonesos,[2] and at Chalkedon he heads a list of magistrates, which includes also a *γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς καὶ δάμου.*[3] Latychew, following Foucart, distinguishes the *γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς καὶ δάμου,* who is one of the eponyms at Megara, from the *γραμματεὺς τοῦ δάμου,* who is charged with the engraving of decrees.

The fourteen decrees mentioned above give the names of six eponymous *βασιλεῖς*, in other words they extend over a period of at least six years. These three decrees add two eponyms to the list, and increase the minimum period covered by the series to eight years. The previous inscriptions revealed an alteration in the number and tenure of office of the *στραταγοί*, which must have taken place at some time during the period; for the years of Pasiadas, Diogenes and Apollonidas show a board of five *στραταγοί* different each year, whereas the years of Apollodoros, Euklias and Theomantos show a board of six, which remains unchanged for all these eponyms. Foucart supposed that the period of five generals preceded the period of six, his argument being based on the theory that a new tribe was created in honour of Demetrios. Dittenberger showed that this argument rested on a confusion between the Megarian *κῶμαι* and *φυλαί*: Megara had five *κῶμαι* but retained the three Dorian tribes unchanged till the age of Hadrian.[4] But his positive arguments for the priority of the board of six do not seem equally conclusive, and this inscription seems to furnish definite evidence for the other view. Dittenberger maintained that the five polemarchs, who appear at Megara when the city was a member of the Boeotian league, must be successors of the five *στραταγοί*, and that it is easier to assume a single alteration in the number than a double one. These three decrees belong to the years of Pasidoros and Antiphilos; for Pasidoros we have a board of five, different from the boards under the *βασιλεῖς* Pasiadas, Diogenes, and Apollonidas; but for

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[1] *B.C.H.*, *l.c.* p. 277; cf. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 515.

[2] *B.C.H.*, *l.c.* p. 286, note 2; *Inscrr. Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*, i, Nos. 185–187, ii, 77, 80. Cf. i, 189, ii, 70.

[3] *C.I.G.* 3794.

[4] *I.G.* vii, 1.

Antiphilos we have a board of six, identical with the board which continued in office under Apollodoros, Euklias and Theomantos. It is natural to suppose that the decree dated in the year of Antiphilos, being written in the third column of the stone, is later than the decrees dated in the year of Pasidoros; possibly it belongs to the next year. If this is so the year of Antiphilos must mark the cessation of annual boards of five, and the substitution of boards of six, possibly quinquennial as Dittenberger suggests. But it is noteworthy that there is evidence only for one board of six; and this board of six *στραταγοί*, which held office for four years at least, may well have been an abnormal and exceptional institution. Although references to Demetrios occur only in the period of the six generals, there is no reason for pushing back the inscriptions with five *στραταγοί* before 307 B.C. For the list of persons honoured under the boards of five includes three Halikarnassians and an Iasian. We may still suppose that the whole series belongs to the Antigonid régime. But this inscription seems to furnish a reasonable argument for regarding *I.G.* vii, 8–14 as earlier than *I.G.* vii, 1–7. The boards of five *στραταγοί*, which changed annually under Pasiadas, Diogenes, Apollonidas and Pasidoros were succeeded by a board of six which remained in office under Antiphilos, Apollodoros, Euklias and Theomantos.

R. M. HEATH.

DIONYSOS AT SMYRNA.

THE σύνοδος of the μύσται and τεχνῖται of Dionysos Breiseus at Smyrna has long been known to students from several series of inscriptions.[1] These, although defective in themselves, can be supplemented by the inscriptions of analogous associations, so that the details of the society's organisation are tolerably familiar,[2] and for the present require no further discussion. But certain questions have not so far been decided. Such concern the origin of the god, the meaning of the epithet, and the situation of his temple at Smyrna. The present paper is an attempt to answer these questions, some new evidence having recently come to hand.

The earliest certain home of Dionysos Breiseus seems to have been Lesbos,[3] where the name of Brisa has been known for many centuries. Homer's heroine [4] will be recalled: Androtion knew a Lesbian promontory called Βρῆσα [5]: the Lesbos of to-day has a hill and a village called respectively Βρίσιον and Βρίσια.[6] The modern names are proved to be descended from the ancient by the discovery of an inscription to Dionysos Βρησαγένης [7] near the village: the ruins close by have accordingly been held to mark the site of his temple.[1] On the Homeric evidence, Brisa is a very ancient Lesbian name and earlier than the Greek foundation of Smyrna[2]: hence we may naturally suppose Dionysos Breiseus had been early established in Lesbos and passed thence to Smyrna.

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[1] *C.I.G.* 3160, 3161, 3176 (with 3173), 3177, 3190, 3210; E. Szanto in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* ix, 1885, pp. 133 ff.; Le Bas-Waddington, *Asie Mineure*, p. 360, n. 248 (=De Witte in *Acaa. Roy. Brux.* ix, 1; *B.M. Cat. Bronzes*, n. 887; *B.M. Inscr.* ii, p. 4). Perhaps *C.I.G.* 3175 is to be added, if we read ΔΙΟ[ΝΥΣΟΥ for the uncertain ΔΙΟΣ[- - -.

[2] See *e.g.* Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, v, pp. 146–8.

[3] Whether Gruppe (*Griech. Myth.* pp. 235, 297) and Wilamowitz (*Phil. Unters.* vii, p. 409) are right in thinking the Lesbian god hailed originally from Boeotia, is beside the present question.

[4] *Il.* i, ll. 184, 323, etc.

[5] *Etym. M.* Βρισαῖος οὕτως ὁ Διόνυσος . . . ἀπὸ ἄκρας Λεσβιακῆς Βρήσης, ἧς μέμνηται Ἀνδροτίων. cf. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Βρίσα· ἄκρα Λέσβου, ἐν ᾗ ἵδρυται Διόνυσος Βρισαῖος. The spelling of the epithet varies considerably.

[6] Pottier and Hauvette-Besnault in *B.C.H.* iv, 1880, p. 445; Wilamowitz, *l.c.*

[7] *B.C.H. l.c.*

When he came to Smyrna, we do not know. Perhaps only in Hellenistic times: there is no record of him until our inscriptions, the earliest of which dates from the reign of Titus.[3] But it may be remarked that Lesbos was Aeolian and that although the historical Smyrna was a member of the Ionian federation,[4] the original Smyrna was most probably Aeolian.[5] So perhaps it was with some of the earliest colonists of Smyrna that the god came from Brisa to settle with them in their new home. Certainly the cult of Dionysos existed in the Aeolic colony, as we learn from Herodotos,[6] and although he does not call the god Breiseus, his omission of the epithet means nothing, since it had very little special significance. This we learn from a passage in Aristides.[7]

Commenting on the double nature of Dionysos, the orator remarks that 'for maidens the god is not the same as for youths: like men he is at one time beardless and later Breiseus: he is now a god of peace and again a god of war.' The passage is illustrated by two coins of Smyrna, one of Domitian,[8] the other of Julia Domna.[9] In both the type is identical, showing Semele enthroned with the youthful Dionysos on a low seat by her side: in the background to the left is a small cultus-statue of the bearded Dionysos, draped and holding a kantharos and a thyrsos.[10] It is the beardless Dionysos with his Breiseus counterpart. Accordingly, from these coins and Aristides' words we see that for imperial Smyrna at least, the epithet Breiseus suggested at once the bearded elderly manifestation of the god, probably without any further attribute.

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[1] *Ibid.* Unfortunately the remains are too scanty to permit the hope of discovering there an inscription with the more usual epithet.

[2] Homer does not mention the town, and the Leleges seem to have held the coast lands at that time, cf. Strabo, xiv, 634.

[3] *C.I.G.* 3173.

[4] Hdt. i, 143, 149.

[5] Mimnermus 9 [12]; Strabo, xiii, 582: Paus. vii, 5, 1.

[6] i, 150; cf. Aristides, xvii, 373 D: xxi, 440 D.

[7] xl, 49 D.

[8] *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 251, n. 138, Pl. XXVI, 11.

[9] *Ibid.* p. 287, n. 395.

[10] The group of Semele and Dionysos occurs without the cultus-statue in a wall-painting of a Pompeian villa (*Not. Scavi*, 1910, Pl. XV; *J.R.S.* vol. iv, 1914, pp. 160-1, Pl. XI) and in another from Herculaneum (*Pitt. d'Ercolano*, ii, n. 13). This identification is due to Miss Mudie-Cooke (*J.R.S. l.c.*), who has kindly communicated the theory and above references in advance to me: it is to be noted that she considers the goddess to be probably not Semele but Ariadne.

The cultus-statue of the coins, it may be observed, is archaic in type and, since it probably represents the actual cultus-statue of the temple, this raises an interesting question. Is it possible that this was the ancient *ξόανον* of Dionysos Breiseus which the Aeolian colonists of Smyrna had once worshipped ?[1] If so, it must have survived the Lydian destruction, being carried off like the Palladion of Troy and preserved in one of the villages into which the town was broken up.[2] The Nemesis which was duplicated after Alexander's dream[3] had certainly been so preserved. Or possibly, when Alexander's city was founded,[4] a sculptor was definitely commissioned to make an archaistic statue which should recall to the Smyrnaeans their ancient deity. Such archaistic tendencies were rife in the Alexandrine city: thus the cult of Homer was intensified[5] and the duplication of the archaic Nemesis was evidently deliberate. Whichever alternative be true, the people of Smyrna were, perhaps unconsciously, perpetuating evidence of their ancient origin at a time when the learned or political element among them was hankering after more illustrious founders than the humble Aeolians of Lesbian Brisa.

But Dionysos Breiseus was not the only Dionysos worshipped at Smyrna. An inscription in the Millosicz collection at Vienna[6] mentions also a Dionysos *πρὸ πόλεως*. The meaning of the phrase is not quite certain. Long ago Boeckh[7] translated it in a local sense as 'before the city': Le Bas[8] followed him, but in his *Cults of the Greek States* Dr. Farnell[9] disagrees. While admitting that in general Dionysos 'was not a guiding power of the higher political life,' he finds isolated indications of such power in such epithets of the god as *καθηγεμών, αἰσυμνήτης, πρὸ πόλεως*. In so interpreting the last phrase he has apparently been influenced by an inscription from Teos[10] which records a dedication to *τὸν*

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[1] Cf. Paus. x, 19, 3 for the historical worship of the *ξόανον* of Dionysos Φάλλην at Methymna.

[2] Strabo, xiv, 646.

[3] Paus. vii, 5, 4.

[4] *c.* 324 B.C. (by Antigonos).

[5] Strabo, xiv, 646, mentions a *ξόανον* of Homer and bronze coins called Homereia. Quantities of these have been found (cf. *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, pp. 244 ff. nn. 78 ff.).

[6] *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* ix, 1885, p. 134.

[7] See n. on *C.I.G.* 2963 c.

[8] Le Bas-Waddington, *Asie Min.* p. 373, n. 1601.

[9] *Cults*, v, pp. 135–6, 152–3.

[10] *C.I.G.* 3108.

προεστῶτα τῆς ἱερωτάτης πόλεως ἡμῶν Διόνυσον, where Dionysos is clearly regarded as the protector of the town. But the circumstances of Teos were somewhat exceptional: it was famous for its wine and the artists of Dionysos had at one time brought it much wealth and prosperity by making it their headquarters.[1] Hence the citizens most naturally considered Dionysos their special patron. And further, if *πρὸ πόλεως* had this protective meaning, it is odd that Hekate, and not its patron deity Aphrodite, should be *πρὸ πόλεως* at Aphrodisias[2]; again, it is not Kybele but Demeter[3] and Dionysos[4] who are *πρὸ πόλεως* at Smyrna. For Aphrodisias and Smyrna at least another explanation of *πρὸ πόλεως* is required. This Pollux[5] supplies by enumerating a list of *τὰ πρὸ πόλεως*: they include temples and oracles and shrines and tombs and barrows. As the preceding paragraph[6] calls them *τὰ ἔξω πόλεως*, he plainly gave the same meaning to both phrases and that meaning local. So one Dionysos at Smyrna had his temple situated 'outside the city wall.'[7] Very probably this Dionysos *πρὸ πόλεως* is none other than Dionysos Breiseus, a combination which has not hitherto been recognised.

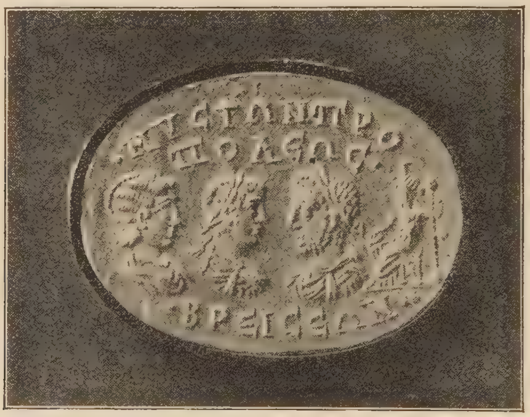

FIG. I.—SEAL OF THE BREISEAN MYSTICS.

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[1] Farnell, *op. cit.* p. 146; *C.I.G.* 3067.

[2] *C.I.G.* 2796; cf. Boeckh on 2963 c.

[3] *C.I.G.* 3194 and 3211; cf. Boeckh, *l.c.*

[4] *Arch. Epigr. Mitth. l.c.*

[5] ix, 15. *μέρη δὲ τῶν πρὸ πόλεως καὶ τὰ κατὰ δήμους ἱερά, τελεστήρια, μέγαρα, κ.τ.λ.*

[6] ix, 14. *τὰ μὲν δὴ μέρη τῶν ἔξω πόλεως . . .*

[7] The sanctuary of the Κληδόνες at Smyrna was outside the wall; cf. Paus. ix, 11, 7.

The clearest evidence for such an identification is a bronze seal[1] (Fig. 1) now in the British Museum. It bears the heads of the emperor Philip I, his wife Otacilia, and his son, afterwards Philip II: on the left is a seated figure of Zeus Sarapis, and below is the following inscription in retrograde letters:—

Μυστῶν πρὸ
πόλεως
Βρεισέων.

Apparently this was the official seal of the σύνοδος, such public seals being known elsewhere[2]; its legend indicates that the full title of the god was Διόνυσος Βρεισεὺς πρὸ πόλεως, *i.e.* Διόνυσος Βρεισεύς was Διόνυσος πρὸ πόλεως.

This conclusion at least does not conflict with what we know of the situation of the temple of Dionysos Breiseus. Hitherto this has been entirely uncertain, but M. Omont's publication of the diaries of Galland[3] has furnished a clue. In 1680 the orientalist saw in a Dutch warehouse in Smyrna certain inscriptions of Dionysos Breiseus which had lately been found in a vineyard on the acropolis hill 'a little below the stadium': certain heads, a statue of Zeus, another of Apollo Pythios, and a third (headless) of a draped woman had been found in the same place.[4] The inscriptions are now in the *Corpus*,[5] having been published by Spon[6] from Galland's copies. As for the statues, it is perhaps worth noting that Galland may have been wrong in his identifications and may have seen, not a Zeus and an Apollo Pythios, but a Dionysos Breiseus and a beardless Dionysos: unhappily the statues are now lost[7] and the conjecture must remain a mere conjecture. The importance of the passage is in the proof it gives that the temple lay near the stadium,[1] as presumably so many inscriptions could only have come from the temple site. Now the stadium lay just within the city wall,[2] so that it is irritating to find Galland's description so cursory: so far as it goes, we cannot say whether the temple was outside or inside the wall.[3] But at least it is not impossible that it was just outside, a conclusion which harmonises perfectly with the identification of Dionysos Breiseus and Dionysos πρὸ πόλεως.

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[1] *B.M. Cat. Bronzes*, n. 887; *B.M. Inscr.* ii, p. 4; *Proc. Soc. Ant.* ii, 1853, p. 265. Le Bas-Waddington (*Asie Min.* p. 360, n. 248) and De Witte (*Acad. Roy. Brux.* ix, 1) wrongly think the heads are those of Gallienus, his wife, and son. The appearance of the whole imperial family on the seal is interesting. Bernoulli (*Röm. Ikon.* ii, pt. 3, p. 141) says Philip was the first to introduce the practice on coins and other monuments, but gives no explanation.

[2] *E.g.* the decree of alliance between Smyrna and Magnesia *ad Sipylum* was ratified by the individual seals of the various delegates and also by the public seals of either town: see *C.I.G.* 3137.

[3] Omont, *Missions Archéologiques*, i, p. 210. The reference I owe to my husband.

[4] *Ces statues ces testes et ces inscriptions, que j'ay copiées et envoiées à M. Spon pour en augmenter son recueil, avoient esté trouvées dans une vigne, un peu au dessous du stadium.*

[5] *C.I.G.* 3160, 3173, 3176.

[6] *Misc. Erud. Antiq.* x, 94, p. 354.

[7] The female statue is in the Louvre: Fröhner's *Cat.* n. 73.

Such a situation outside the walls raises difficulties. If Dionysos Breiseus were really one of Smyrna's most ancient deities, he would naturally have been early established in the new city, certainly before it became too crowded to house him within its walls. Two possible solutions present themselves: either he came only in Hellenistic times when the city was already too full, or the new temple copied the situation of its predecessor in the Aeolian town, which we know to have been originally very small and to have grown very rapidly. The latter alternative is perhaps preferable since the evidence for the early cult of Dionysos is considerable, but a final answer is beyond our reach.

Some puzzles must still be left unsolved but perhaps some small contribution to the history of Dionysos has been made by showing that Breiseus is found within a limited area as a name for the bearded Dionysos, that at Smyrna he was also called πρὸ πόλεως in a local sense, and that his temple was situated on the hillside, thus adding another point to the beauty of imperial Smyrna as seen from the sea.

MARGARET HASLUCK.

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[1] Fontrier in *Rev. Et. Anc.* ix, 1907, p. 115, placed the temple of Dionysos πρὸ πόλεως outside the city but to the east near the Caravan Bridge River, apparently, however, without any evidence at all.

[2] Pococke, *Descr. of East*, vol. ii, pt. ii, p. 35 n. See *e.g.* the map in *Murray's Handbook to Asia Minor*, to face p. 74.

[3] Le Bruyn, who visited Smyrna in 1678, has left a drawing which shows vineyards east and west of the stadium, *i.e.* within and without the city wall: this is worth noting as at the present day vineyards exist only to the east of the stadium, houses covering the western slopes.

FRAGMENT OF A BYZANTINE MUSICAL HANDBOOK IN THE MONASTERY OF LAURA ON MT. ATHOS.

(PLATES XIII, XIV.)

INTRODUCTION.

THE musical Notation of the Greek Church is decipherable as far back as the beginning of the Round System in the thirteenth century. Some examples of this were given in my article in last year's *Annual.* But before the invention of the Round System another kind of notation was in use, called for convenience the Linear System, the rules of which are very obscure. The reading of the Round System was made easy by the familiar little treatise called the *Papadike,* which occurs in many MSS., and explains the main principles of the notation. Nothing of the kind seems to have been known dealing with the Linear System. But the fragment which I am now to place before the reader may be expected to throw some light upon it. I photographed this fragment on my visit to the Monastery of Laura in 1912:[1] and so far as I know, this is the first time that anything has been written about it.[2]

The fragment is a single leaf of parchment bound up with the MS. Laura Γ 67, a small quarto codex containing some of the Stichera of the Triodium and Pentescostarium, *i.e.* the original hymns (excluding

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[1] My journey was facilitated by grants from the Hort Fund and from the Carnegie Trust, to which I have elsewhere expressed my great obligations. My thanks are also due to the British Embassy at Constantinople, whose energy in securing me the necessary introductions to the Ecclesiastical authorities cannot be too much praised.

[2] I heard that a Russian expedition had been photographing musical MSS. at Mt. Athos, but so far as I know, their results have not yet appeared.

Canons and words set to tunes not specially composed for them) sung at the movable days in Lent, Holy Week and Eastertide. The manuscript is written in a bold well-formed hand, the text in black, the notes in red.[1]

The Linear Notation passed through several phases.[2] The oldest is probably that of the MS. Laura B 32. To this Esphigmenou 54 (Mt. Athos) is the nearest. Our MS. is probably not later than this, but strikes out on a line of its own, followed later by such MSS. as Laura Δ 11, and Sinai 1219. These are elaborate and uncommonly hard to make out. Yet even they are so unlike our codex that it must stand in a class by itself. As might be expected, the fragment of the treatise bound up with this MS. relates to the System in which the MS. itself is written.

The later stages of the Linear Notation are found in many MSS., but no theoretical explanation of them exists. At best a few hints can be gathered from the short treatise going under the name of Hagiopolites, and most accessible in Thibaut's publication.[3] It gives a list of musical symbols without reproducing their shapes, and adds short and rather vague explanations. Although Hagiopolites is dealing with the Round Notation, there are traces of an earlier tradition in some of his notes. But since he fails as a rule to give the interval-values of the various signs, we have to forego the knowledge that we most need.

THE BYZANTINE MUSICAL NOTATION IN GENERAL.

The earliest traces of musical symbols in the Greek Church are found in the ecphonetic signs or recitation-marks used in Gospel lectionaries to shew the inflections of the voice made by the reader. This declamatory reading is still a striking feature of the Greek Church service.[4] In it most of the text is intoned on one note, but the beginnings of sentences, the leading phrases, and especially the ends of periods, are ornamented with vocal flourishes. To-day this is wholly a matter of tradition; and it is easy to infer either that we have here a relic of ancient Greek pitch-accent or else that the Hebrew ritual has supplied the model. As the history of Byzantine music is virtually a blank until the tenth century, I am not prepared to give an opinion on this point. But one thing is certain: the semi-musical declamation of the gospels goes back far beyond the tenth century, as these ecphonetic signs occur in lectionaries of early date, and prove the antiquity of the practice.

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[1] The Chartres fragment (Gastoué, Am. *Introd. à la Paléogr. mus. byz.* p. 96) seems to be a portion of this very MS. The date of 'export' is unknown.

[2] Although MSS. of this system are not so common as those written in the Round Notation a fair amount of material is available in western Europe; the National Library at Paris among others having a good collection. I have a number of photographs of MSS. taken at Sinai and Athos, and should be pleased to supply prints to anyone who cares to order them. I take this opportunity of expressing my sincerest thanks to His Blessedness the Archbishop of Sinai for the generous hospitality that I enjoyed at the Monastery, where every facility was afforded to me for studying the MSS.

[3] Thibaut, P. J., *Origine Byzantine de la Notation Neumatique de l'Église latine* (Paris 1907), c. iii. I make what use I can of Hagiopolites below. A few of his notes are given in Du Cange *Gloss. med. et inf. Graec.*

[4] Cf. Thibaut, *op. cit.* p. 29.

A fragment found in a MS. of the monastery of Leimon at Lesbos has taught us the names of most of the ecphonetic signs. The system has been discussed by several writers, notably Thibaut,[1] with the general conclusion that the signs represent motions of the voice upwards or downwards, consisting of single or successive steps or leaps, but that they do not give any precise indication of pitch. They were in essence an aid to memory; but do not give a complete representation of the actual tones produced, by which a singer, ignorant of the passage, might make it out for himself. It will be at once seen that this characteristic is shared by the ecphonetic system with the Neumes of the Western Church, for which a Byzantine origin has often been claimed. If the two systems had a common origin, their progress has been very different. For, while the Neumes kept their indefiniteness until the device of writing them on parallel lines enabled the exact pitch to be shewn, the Eastern musicians developed a system whose signs expressed in themselves exactly measured intervals, by which the progression of the melody could be made clear. Thus from the tenth century, while the ecphonetic signs were kept for lectionaries, the musical parts of the service were provided with a more or less complete system of notation.[2] The stages of this reform are unknown; but it seems not unlikely that there were rival attempts to give completeness to the ecphonetic symbols. One consisted in the addition of more complex signs, representing groups of notes. A system of this sort, undeciphered at present, seems to have found its way into Russia from Byzantine sources.[3] Further, these complex groups are found at many stages of the Greek notation and lingered on as subsidiary signs, whose meaning was already expressed in the ordinary interval-system. The other movement, if it existed, really determined the future of the Greek notation, by selecting a convenient number of symbols and giving to each a fixed interval-value ; so that, if the starting-point of a passage was known, any singer who had learnt the notation, could read the music without possibility of mistake. Whether these two tendencies were originally distinct is quite uncertain ; for no Greek MS. is entirely dependent on complex group-signs ; while the simplest forms of the notation use the complex symbols now and then.

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[1] *Op. cit.* c. ii.; cf. Gastoué, *op. cit.* pp. 4 ff.

[2] The MS. Laura Δ 11 has passages of Scripture with ecphonetic signs and also hymns in the Linear Notation.

[3] Cf. Riesemann, O.v., *d. Notation d. alt-russ. Kirchengesanges*, c. ii. and Pl. I.

Before a musical passage can be performed, we must know, besides the progression of intervals, the exact pitch at which each phrase is to be rendered. In the ecphonetic system this was of little moment, since tradition and the singer's own convenience would settle the matter without any serious loss of uniformity. But in a melody built up on a definite mode, with cadences fixed by ancient usage, some explicit indications were needed. In the fully developed Round System of Notation, which flourished from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, the interval-signs usually form an unbroken chain of progressions right through the piece. Thus, the first note being determined by the mode employed, the exact pitch of the others can be unfailingly deduced from it. Moreover, it was usual to put signs to help the singer at the middle cadences. These signs, called Martyriae, were the symbols of the various modes, and shewed that the melody, as given by the interval-signs, had reached the cadential note of whatever mode was indicated. Thus the performer on reaching this note would see that his singing had been right throughout.

From study of the examples of notations earlier than the Round System (these are grouped together as the Linear Notation) it has become clear that the interval-signs do not form an unbroken chain through most melodies. This fact can easily be verified ; for, in attempting to trace such an unbroken series we speedily bring most melodies far out of the compass of the human voice. It has been suggested therefore that every phrase ought to make a fresh start from the original point of departure. But here again experience says ‘ No,’ and we are reduced to the awkward necessity of concluding that some phrases started from the original note, while others carried on the chain of intervals from the preceding cadence wherever it had been made. We may reconcile ourselves to such a view by remembering that (1) The Linear Notation makes virtually no use of signs denoting a leap of more than a third. An automatic return to the starting-note was therefore the only way of making a quick move from the extreme parts of the scale. (2) Such leaps after middle cadences are common in the Round System, and must have been been a feature of Byzantine music. (3) Medial Martyriae are almost unknown. An occasional fresh start from the original note must therefore have been a great relief to the singer's memory. On the other hand an invariable return to the starting note would have been very tedious. (4) Such returns can usually be traced at the main divisions of a hymn where we should naturally expect them. (5) All attempts to read the Linear System depend on the attribution to certain signs, of values belonging to them in the Round System. This is justified by the clear general likeness of most hymns found in both notations. I believe that the principle above mentioned is the only method on which this plan of deciphering yields reasonable results.

I would therefore ask the reader to examine my transcriptions by the most obvious tests: (*a*) Practicability of compass, (*b*) consistency in the interpretation of signs, (*c*) preservation of the tonality of each mode; and, in particular, the regaining of the proper note for the final cadence. No interpretation can be satisfactory that fails in these points; and so far as mine here passes muster, I would ask the reader to accept it.

The nature of the Byzantine modes is an entirely separate question. None of the interval-systems distinguish between tones, semitones, or any other intermediate interval that may or may not have been used. Modern Greek theory knows thirds, three-quarters and five-fourths of tones as well as diatonic intervals. But there is not a shred of evidence as to their existence in the mediaeval systems. I have therefore adopted the theory of Gaisser in my transcriptions. For details of this I must beg the reader to look elsewhere.[1] Should he decide against Gaisser's theory, he has only to alter the key-signature of my versions to suit his own views.

THE FRAGMENT AND ITS INTERPRETATION.

The facsimile (Pl. XIII) will shew that the chief part of the fragment is a list of musical symbols. Before this come a few general remarks on musical theory. The whole passage is to the following effect:—

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[1] Gaisser, U., *Le système mus. de L'Église gr. etc.* (I have summed up his views in the articles referred to below). For opposite views *v.* Riemann H. *Die byz. Notenschrift.* and Gastoué, *op. cit.*

Σὺν Θεῷ ἀρχαὶ τῶν μελοδημάτων·	With God's aid: the beginning of the vocal music.
φωναὶ μέν εἰσιν ζ'· ἦχοι δὲ τέσσαρες, μέσοι τρεῖς· φθοραὶ β'· πλάγιοι δ'.	There are seven notes: four modes: three central notes: two phthorae: four plagal (modes).
φωνὴ α'	Note I
„ β'	„ II
„ γ'	„ III
„ δ'	„ IV
„ ε'	„ V
„ ϛ'	„ VI
„ ζ' ἤγουν τελεία	„ VII or final.

(*Here follows a list of the symbols with their names*[1]*: the latter are :—*)

1. ὀλίγον.
2. γοργόν.
3. ψιλόν.
4. χαμηλόν.
5. βαθύ.
6. ἴσον.
7. σ̣ε̣ξίματα (?)
8. πάρηχον.
9. σταυρὸς ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς.
10. ὀξεῖαι.
11. βαρεῖαι.
12. ἀπόστροφος.
13. ἀπόδερμα.
14. ἀπόθεμα.
15. κλάσμα.
16. ῥεῦμα.
17. πίασμα.
18. τίναγμα.
19. ἀνατρίχισμα.
20. σεῖσμα.
21. σύναγμα.
22. μετὰ σταυροῦ.
23. οὐράνισμα.
24. θέμα.
25. λαιμοί.
26. τρία.
27. τέσσαρα.
28. κρατήματα.
29. ἀπ' ἔσω· ἔξω.
30. δύο.
31. φθορά.
32. ἡμίφθορα.
33. κατάβα τρομικόν.
34. πελαστόν.
35. ψηφιστόν.
36. κόντευμα.
37. χόρευμα.
38. ῥάπισμα.
39. παρακάλεσμα.
40. παρακλητική.
41. ἠχάδιν (?)
42. ναvά.
43. πέτασμα.
44. κόντευμα.
45. τρομικόν.
46. στραγγίσματα.
47. γρονθίσματα.

Explanation: The theoretical part is fairly clear. The φωναί or notes, can scarcely be anything but the notes of the octave. This use of φωνή, like the classical φθόγγος, is confirmed by the practice of the *Papadike*, which measures in *φωναί* the interval-value of each sign. The 'final' is therefore simply the last note of the octave system, after which we regain the representative of the original note. The four Modes are the four Authentic Modes as opposed to the four Plagal mentioned below.

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[1] I have corrected a few obvious spelling mistakes in the MS. Dr. Rendel Harris very kindly revised my copy and made several valuable suggestions.

The Central Notes or *μέσοι* raise a difficult question. We are told in the *Papadike* that each Mode has some other Mode as its *μέσος*: thus Mode I has III Plagal, II has IV Pl. etc.[1] In this way we get eight 'Central notes,' and find no explanation for the number three here. A possible clue might be sought in the meaning of *μέση*. This was used in Ancient Greek theory to denote the central note of the complete 'System.' As the System was tuned at three different pitches at various epochs there were thus three *μέσαι*.[2] It is quite possible that the author of our fragment is unintelligently quoting some older work, which referred to ancient Greek musical theory.

The Phthorae are the modulation marks, used when any chromatic change or passage from mode to mode was needed. In the *Papadike* each Mode has its own Phthora; and when a modulation was made into any Mode, the Phthora of that Mode was used: this in turn was resolved by the Phthora of the old Mode when the original key was regained. All the Phthorae are differentiated forms of the initial *φ*. Hence it is not surprising at the earlier stage of our fragment to find only one proper Phthora (No. 31 below). This must have been used for any kind of transition from one Mode to another. The number two has here been reached by including the Half-phthora (No. 32). Its meaning is doubtful. It might mean (*a*) a transient modulation, affecting only the note over which it stood, and not needing resolution, or (*b*) an enharmonic change less than a semitone. In Modern Byzantine theory such varieties are fairly common, but we have no evidence as to the mediaeval usage.

The Plagal Modes answer to the four Authentic Modes already mentioned.

The enumeration of the degrees of the octave has not much apparent force here, but may have been used for some teaching-example to be given in a lost sequel to the fragment. There is of course no reference to the Modes as such; for they were never tabulated otherwise than as 'authentic' and 'plagal.'

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[1] Cf. 'Ελλην. Φιλ. Συλλ. *τόμ.* ΚΑ', p. 167; Gastoué, *op. cit.* p. 31.

[2] Cf. Riemann, *op. cit.* pp. 2 ff.

The list of symbols is a document of the very highest importance for the study of Byzantine music. Some of the signs survive in the Round Notation with interval-value, others as execution-marks. In some cases the symbol is an abbreviation of its name, in others it is the picture of some gesture of the hand, used to indicate the rise or fall of the voice. A number of signs have been taken over from the ecphonetic notation, a fact which I will notice in each case; while the oldest of all are the Oxeia and Bareia, the acute and grave accents, now given a fixed interval-value.

Explanation of terms used. A sign has *interval-value* when it indicates that the syllable over which it stands is to be sung at some definite interval above or below the preceding note. The stationary signs, denoting repetition of the same note over different syllables, are classed with the interval-signs. A *Hypostasis* or *Subsidiary* is a sign with no interval-value. It may be *mute*, *i.e.* it produces no distinct sound, but affects the length, expression, or force of some sound already indicated by the interval-signs. Or it may be an *adjunct*, adding some audible ornament but not reckoned as affecting the intervals forming the main course of a melody. A note is *subordinated* to another when it loses its own interval-value, while the sign to which it is subordinated keeps its value. This subordination is called *Hypotaxis*.

NL = Linear Notation: inclusive name for the musical systems later than the ecphonetic and earlier than, or unaffected by, the Round System.

NR = Round Notation: the familiar system flourishing from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries. In its later phases it is often called Cucuzelian; but its main character is unchanged.[1]

Commentary on List of Symbols.

(1) 'Oligon.'—The form here shewn is clearly a contraction of the name (*ολ*). It has no likeness to the Oligon of the Round System, and, as it stands here next to the Gorgon, it may have had some time-value. It does not seem to occur in the NL as an interval-sign.

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[1] Gastoué, *op. cit.* pp. 35–7, in his list of Hypostases, regards as inventions of Cucuzeles many signs appearing in our fragment: they will now be recognised as of earlier date. His spelling of some of the names is faulty and can easily be emended from the data now before us. Fleischer, O, *Neumenstudien*, Pt. i. p. 72 also discusses some of these symbols.

(2) 'Gorgon.'—Quick sign, denoting a rapid group of notes, or a single short note: used in NR. I have found no examples in NL.

(3) 'Psilon.'—This must be the same as the Hypsele. In NR it is used with ascending step-signs to make a fifth or larger interval. In NL it seems to be used (*a*) alone denoting an ascending fifth, or (*b*) as an adjunct with no interval-value, but possibly *sung* as an ascending fifth, though not reckoned. The symbol is the initial ψ.

(4) 'Chamelon.'—This no doubt is the oldest form of the Chamele of NR. In the latter it is used with the Apostrophus to make a descending fifth or larger interval. In NL its use seems to be like that of the Hypsele, *i.e.* it affected the melody, by turning a second into a fifth, but was not reckoned as an interval-sign. The symbol is the initial χ.

(5) 'Bathy.'—This must be another descending leap-sign, the symbol *βθχ* representing *βαθὺ χαμηλόν*. I have seen no example of it in use.

(6) 'Ison.'—A stationary sign, denoting equality or repetition of a note. The earlier phases of NL have no equality-sign; and in our MS. it is sometimes wanting. In later NL the hooked Ison is also found. This becomes the only form in NR, while the horizontal stroke becomes the Oligon, denoting a second upwards.

(7) The word is doubtful, perhaps *συ<γ>ξύματα*, 'parings.' An early form of the Kentemata, denoting an ascending second. The single dot, Kentema, is not given in our list, though it often occurs in the MS. itself. Both Kentema and Kentemata are only used in composition, and denote in NL a second upwards. In NR the Kentema denotes a third or fourth upwards according to its position. Dr. Rendel Harris suggests that the original word was *ἐξισάσματα*, the corruption being due to the misunderstanding by the scribe of some tachygraphic symbol. This would be an intelligible name for the Kentemata, which when added to a descending second certainly 'equalise' the progression by bringing the melody back to the original note. But, although the name may be doubtful, the meaning of the sign seems to me fairly certain.

(8) 'Parechon.'—Meaning doubtful.

(9) ‘Stauros apo Dexias’ = ‘Cross from the right.’—A sign for a group of notes: exact force doubtful. The Cross is used in Ecphonetic under the name *τελεία* to denote the end of a period. In our MS. a crossed Ison is the regular termination-sign. The simple Stauros is mentioned in the *Papadike*, but I have never seen it used in NR: in modern notation it is a *rest*. Probably the symbol here is a stationary sign with an appended Apostrophus.

(10) ‘Oxeiai.’—The Oxeia is the usual sign for an ascending second both in NL and NR. The double Oxeia, also called Diple, has in the earlier notation the same interval-value as the single sign with prolongation of time; in NR it has no interval-value but only serves to lengthen a note.

(11) ‘Bareiai.’—Two forms of the Bareia are here given. There is a third form like the second but without a cross-stroke. A double Bareia also exists having the same interval-value as the single, but prolonging the time. In NR it becomes the Piasma, a sign of emphasis with no interval-value. The same fate has overtaken the Bareia itself.

As the Oxeia denotes a second upwards, it would seem natural to think that the Bareia denoted a second downwards. But examples seem to prove that its value was a *third* downwards. In support of this we may note that the Elaphron, the descending third of NR, does not occur in our list or appear in our MS.: that there is no other provision in it for a descending third, the repeated Apostrophus never, it seems, being used: that the antithesis Oxeia) (Bareia is many centuries older than the invention of our notation: and finally that the antithesis Bareia) (Elaphron might equally well suggest that one sign was a substitute for the other.

(12) ‘Apostrophus.’—A second downwards, used in all stages of the notation. The double Apostrophus (Apostrophoi Syndesmoi) having the same interval-value as the single sign but longer duration, occurs, though not given in our list.

(13) ‘Apoderma.’—Stationary sign, denoting a pause. It occurs in various shapes in all stages of the notation. Hagiopolites[1] classes it with the musical signs, but does not give its value.

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[1] Thibaut, *op. cit.* p. 54.

(14) 'Apothema.—Meaning doubtful. It may be something like the later Thes-kai-Apothes (*θὲς καὶ ἀπόθες*) probably denoting a short note followed by a rest; if so, it would be a stationary sign.

(15) 'Klasma.'—This in NR is simply a time-mark increasing the duration of a note. In NL it has a double use: firstly as a subsidiary sign, as in NR and probably with the same value: secondly by itself with musical sound. In such cases it seems to be a compound of Bareia and Oxeia, thus denoting a third downwards followed by a second upwards.

(16) 'Reuma.'—This *may* have the same function as the later Hyporrhoe, *i.e.* two descending seconds sung to one syllable. If so, the upward stroke, which is the Petaste (*see below*, value a second upwards) is an adjunct devoid of interval-value.

(17) 'Piasma.'—In shape this is utterly unlike the later Piasma. It seems to be used with sound, but to have the value of the Ison; in other words it may denote some group of notes returning to the starting-point.

(18) 'Tinagma.'—'Shake.' Perhaps a compound of the Apoderma and Petaste, the latter again having no interval-value.

(19) 'Anatrichisma.'—This seems to mean a sign that 'makes your hair stand on end'! A group of ascending notes. Hagiopolites has a note on this sign, to which he attributes musical sound. 'Three Oxeiai with two Kentemata make up the Anatrichisma'—'Again two Apostrophi with two Oxeiai and two Kentemata, either above or below, are also called Anatrichisma.'[1] This seems to suggest that Hagiopolites regarded this sign as denoting either of two groups, with different values, but each containing several ascending notes. In NR the symbol is not known to exist. Its appearance would suggest a threefold Petaste, which would so far agree with the threefold Oxeia given by Hagiopolites.

(20) 'Seisma.'—Another 'Shake.' In the first case the Diple is subordinated to the Oxeia, and in the second the double Bareia is subordinated to the Apostrophus so that the interval-value of both groups is the same—a note upwards and one downwards.

(21) 'Synagma.'—In NR this is merely a slur. Its force in the earlier system is doubtful.

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[1] Thibaut, *op. cit.* p. 53.

(22) A combination of 21 and 9. Meaning uncertain.

(23) 'Ouranisma,' *i.e.* A 'going up to Heaven.' Doubtless a group consisting of Oxeia and two Petastai.

(24) 'Thema'—Called in NR Thema Haploun. There it is a Great Hypostasis merely summarising a group already fully indicated by the interval-signs. In our system it stands alone and seems to denote an ascending and descending group of notes. The symbol is an abbreviation of the name—*θμ* for *θέμα*.

(25) (26) (27) In spite of grammar, I think all these belong together. The 'Laimos' or 'Neck' seems to be an Oxeia with an appended Apostrophus, the latter having no interval-value. The repeated Laimoi very rarely occur in NL, but look like a reminiscence of the ecphonetic system, where a similar sign is called Kremaste.

(28) (29) (30) 'Kratemata.'—The Kratema denotes a 'holding' of the note. In the present case it is not a sign but merely a name for a group of notes, one of which is *tenuto*. This is sufficiently expressed by the Diple and Apostrophoi Syndesmoi. The meaning of Exo and Eso is however by no means clear: usually it is assumed that Exo denotes progression upwards, and Eso downwards, *i.e.* 'inwards' towards the keynote. But it is not easy to see the relevance of this here. (31) and (32) have already been discussed.

(33) 'Kataba Tromikon.'—This again is a relic of the Ecphonetic system. It denotes a group containing an Ison, some descending notes and a *tremolo*. No example of the entire group is known to me in NL. The downward stroke is like the Hyporrhoe (used later for two descending seconds). But this would probably lose its interval-value by being tacked on to the Ison.

(34) 'Pelaston.'—This has no likeness to the sign in NR of this name. It must be a group, made up perhaps of an Oxeia and two Apostrophi, all keeping their value.

(35) 'Psephiston.'—In the ecphonetic system the small hooks occurring together in groups up to five in number, are distinguished in shape from the Apostrophus, and called *ὑπόκρισις*.

It is by no means clear whether this distinction is carried over into NL. In that case the Psephiston would be a mark of separation, and the similar collocation of small hooks under Nos. 33 and 44 would have no musical sound. But in our fragment there is hardly a visible distinction between this little hook and the Apostrophus; so I am inclined to think that no difference was intended. Instances do not help us; for the use of successive (superimposed) Apostrophi does not seem to hold in our MS. or in the older NL, though it is common in later phases and in NR.

The sign called Psephiston in NR is a stress-mark quite unlike what we have here.

(36) 'Konteuma.'—Perhaps a compound of Oxeia and Bareia, the latter being an appendage without interval-value (cf. 44 below).

(37) 'Choreuma.'—This seems to be a group made up of Double Bareia, Klasma, and Tinagma. Its name from χορεύω 'to dance' suggests some light up-and-down motion.

(38) 'Rapisma' = 'Box on the ear'! It does not seem to occur in our MS. but is found in some of the more elaborate Linear notations of later date. Meaning uncertain.

(39) 'Parakalesma.'—Used in NR as a subsidiary, probably a slur. Its meaning in NL is doubtful, but it may be a group-sign.

(40) 'Parakletike.'—This looks like a twofold Petaste, with an appended Bareia. When standing alone it seems to have the value of an ascending third. When used as a subsidiary, it usually marks the beginning of a phrase, and may represent the sign later called Enarxis. In such cases it would have no sound. In NR both Parakletike and Enarxis are subsidiary signs.

(41) This word may be meant for ἠχάδιν = ἠχάδιον, diminutive of ἦχος = a 'little sound.' (Such diminutive forms are common in Byzantine Greek, *e.g.* in Prodromus, and the *Chronicle of the Morea.*) A subsidiary sign of doubtful meaning.

(42) 'Nana.'—This is the Martyria of Mode III. Its occurrence at this date, when the Modes were represented usually by numbers, is

remarkable. The word *may* have some connexion with the mediaeval Parallage or vocalisation of the modes.[1]

(43) 'Petasma.'—The shape of this sign leaves no room for doubt that it is the same as the later Petaste, and therefore an ascending second.

(44) 'Konteuma.'—This is a second form of the sign, the former having already been given under No. 36. What we have here seems to be the converse, the Bareia keeping its value, while the Oxeia is an appendage. If so the Apostrophi might be a kind of gloss. But as stated under No. 35, it is not certain that these are Apostrophi at all.

There seems to be a third form of Konteuma, looking like a Petaste with a much longer down-stroke: this also seems to have the value of Bareia. An example of it occurs later.

(45) 'Tromikon.'—This is quite unlike the Tromikon of NR, which probably denotes a passing shake. The symbol before us looks like a threefold Petaste, an interpretation which its use tends to confirm.

(46) 'Strangismata,' *i.e.* 'Sounds wrung out.' This seems not to be used alone, and may be an expression-mark.

(47) 'Gronthismata,' *i.e.* 'Fisticuffs.' I have seen no example in use.

APPLICATION OF THE DATA TO THE DECIPHERMENT OF BYZANTINE NEUMES.

The knowledge of the interval-values of all the signs would still not be enough to enable us to read the music unless we knew what the Laws of Subordination were. In the Round Notation these are so complicated that without the *Papadike* it would have taken endless time to make them out, and the result would have seemed so far-fetched that many readers would probably have doubted it. But for the Linear system we have no instructions whatever, and are reduced to the most tedious methods of experiment, the outcome of which is still largely hypothetical.

[1] Cf. Riemann, H., *Zeitschr. d. internat. Musikgesellsch.* 1913, p. 273.

I am led to adopt the following as the laws of Hypotaxis in the Linear System:—

(1) An ascending sign placed below the Ison becomes subordinate. This as in NR.

(2) There is no proof that here, as in NR, a descending sign could annul an ascending. In such combinations both signs keep their value.

(3) Diple under Oxeia or Petaste, and Double Bareia under Apostrophus or Hyporrhoe become subordinate. The simple Bareia probably obeys the same law. In NR Diple and Bareia are subsidiary signs, so we are not surprised to find them liable to subordination at this early stage.

(4) It is uncertain whether the Apostrophus placed under the Bareia (*i.e.* in the reverse of the last case) is annulled or not. The Bareia certainly counts.

What happens to a subordinated sign is another moot point. Possibly it was heard as a grace-note, and I have generally shewn it as such.

EXPLANATION OF FACSIMILES.

The first specimen is not from the same MS. as our fragment, but from the older and simpler system of Laura B 32. In this MS. the Ison is hardly ever used, a blank being left over a syllable bearing the repeated note. At the end of each main division a dot is put. Otherwise the simpler signs are used precisely as in Laura Γ 67.[1]

The MS. is a parchment octavo *Hirmologium*. It contains in 312 leaves the Hirmi arranged by modes, with most of the hymnodists' names. The writing is fairly neat but full of mistakes in spelling. The accents are put in below the neumes, a source of some confusion. Also, the musical signs are often not written directly over the vowels to which they belong, but to one side, sometimes even over a space between two words. This I consider to have been pure carelessness. We have to guess as well as possible to which syllable such signs belong.

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[1] Riemann, *op. cit.* Pls. I.–III. gives six pages of this MS. in facsimile. But, as there is considerable scope for variety of reading, a discussion of them would take us too far. Riemann's method of transcription seems to me erroneous and usually lands him on a wrong cadential note. (His suggestion on p. 57 that the *final* Ison or dot may have a special value, *i.e.* a mere return to the starting note, cannot, I think, be accepted.)

I photographed a number of pages in Sept. 1912, and my first example is an exact copy of a bromide print taken direct from the MS.

The extract (Fig. 1) chosen gives the first three Hirmi of the great Canon for Easter by S. John of Damascus. Neale's translation (*Hymns A. and M.* 132) has made the hymn known to English readers. Like most Canons this one has no second ode. The question of rhythm I do not mean to discuss here, as I have already given what seem to me the likeliest views on it.[1] It must be remembered that the Byzantine notation did not provide exact indications of time and some discretion may very well have been left to the singer. So, if we regard my scheme as a fair approximation, I think we shall not be seriously mistaken. This canon is in Mode I, which, according to Gaisser's theory[2] (to my mind the most probable) would need two flats in the signature. A modern version given by W. Christ and Paranikas[3] has only one flat. But it must be added that modern practice usually flattens E by $\frac{1}{4}$-tone when the melody descends.

Where the progression seems to require a return to the starting note, I put a wavy line. This is needed three times in the first extract. It is satisfactory when it involves a skip of at least a fourth, either to the next note sung or to that denoted by the ensuing sign.

The signs used are simple, and will be readily understood from what has been said. In Ode I, over the last syllable of *οὐρανόν*, is a form of Apoderma (pause). In Ode III, over *ἀλλ'*, is a sign of unknown name, evidently marking a very slight pause or *rallentando*, so slight that the transcription can hardly express it. Some MSS., *e.g.* Sinai 1219, make very free use of this sign.

The next specimen is given in facsimile from my own photograph (Pl. XIV). It contains the first ode of the Canon for Pentecost by S. John of Damascus.[4] The original had no second ode, but one is here supplied by an unknown hand. The metre in each ode is different. The first is in quantitative iambics, the second in the usual rhythmical prose. It is very doubtful how these iambic odes were treated for musical purposes. Possibly each line was a double colon. Quantity had no place

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[1] See my articles *Byz. Zeitschr.* xx. 433–440: *Musical Antiquary*, 1911, 90, 156 ff.

[2] *Les Heirmoi de Pâques* (Rome, 1905). This important work contains a full discussion of the rhythm and tonality of this very Canon according to the Round System.

[3] *Anthologia*, 218 (Text) and CXXX (melody): my version is given with *one* flat to match theirs.

[4] Text in Christ-Paranikas, *Anthol.* 213.

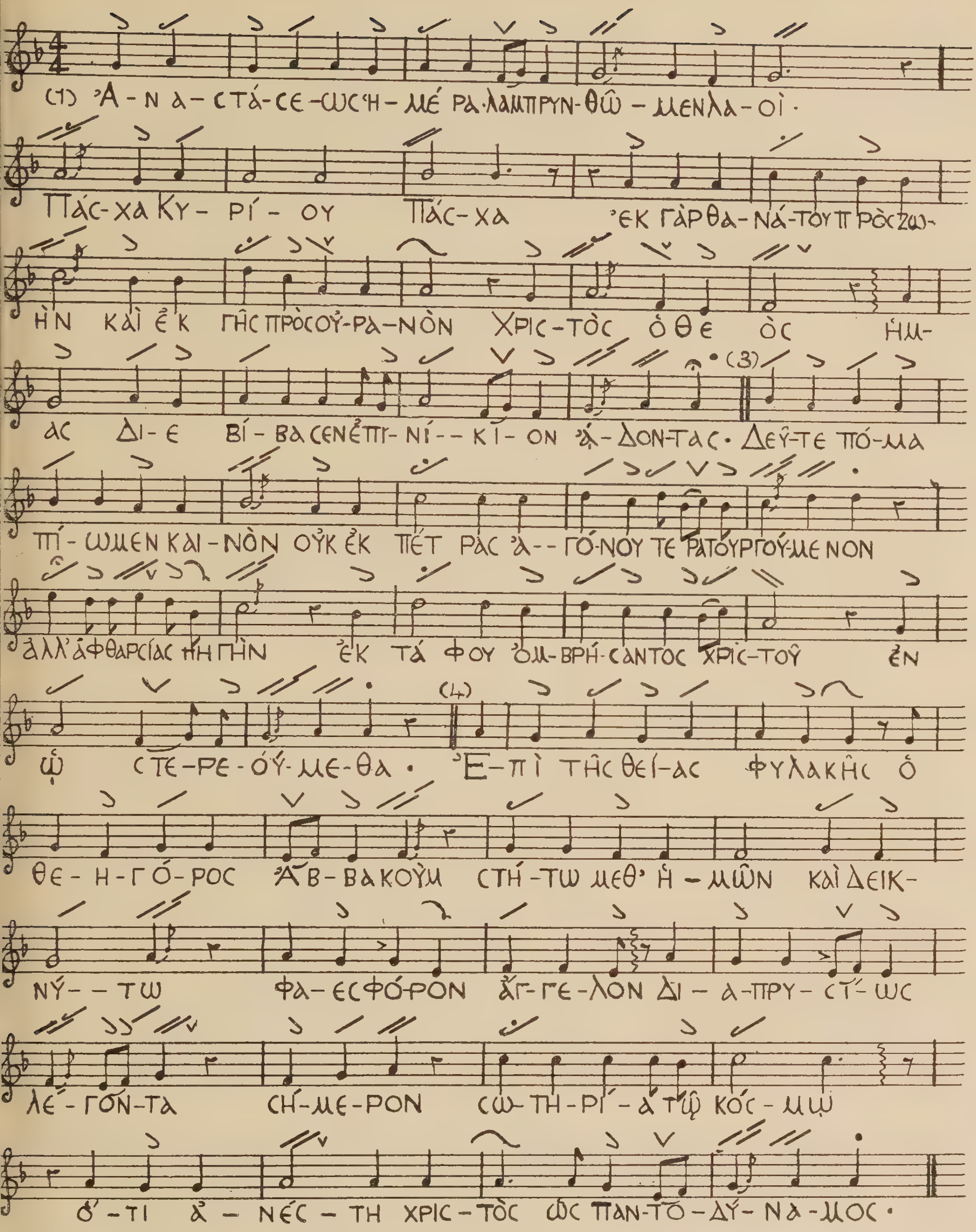
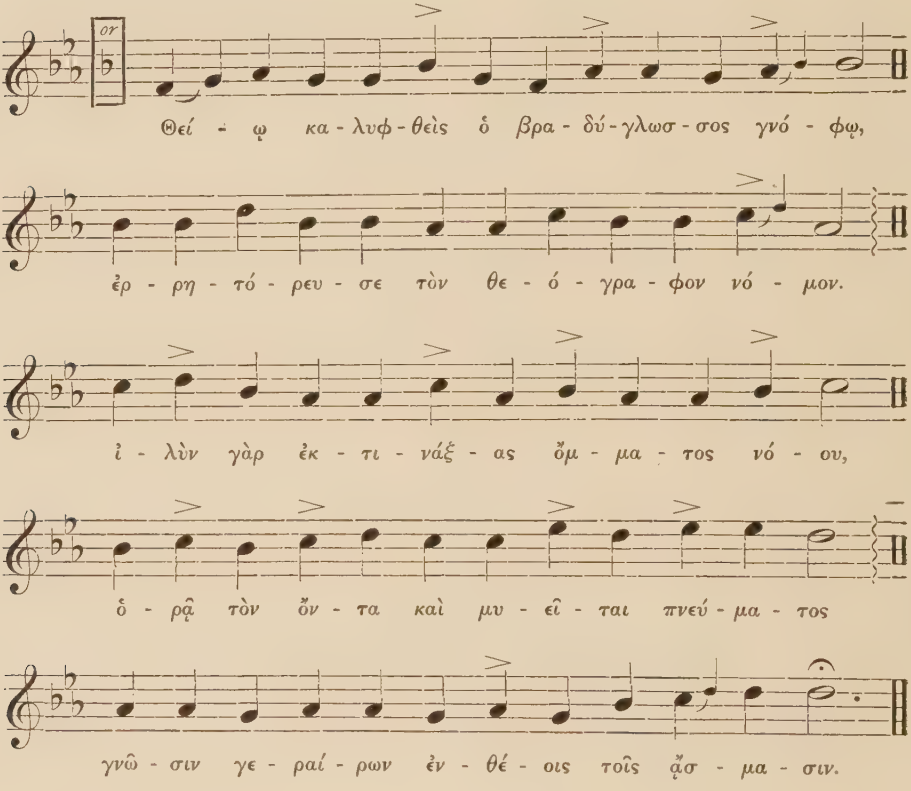

(1) Ἀ-να-ϲτά-ϲε-ωϲ ἡ-μέ-ρα· λαμπρυν-θῶ-μεν λα-οί·
Πάϲ-χα Κυ-ρί-ου Πάϲ-χα ἐκ γὰρ θα-νά-του πρὸϲ ζω-
ὴν καὶ ἐκ γῆϲ πρὸϲ οὐ-ρα-νὸν Χριϲ-τὸϲ ὁ θε-ὸϲ ἡμ-
αϲ δι-ε-βί-βα-ϲεν ἐπι-νί-κι-ον ᾄ-δον-ταϲ·
(3) Δεῦ-τε πό-μα
πί-ωμεν καινὸν οὐκ ἐκ πέτ-ραϲ ἀ-γό-νου τε-ρα-τουργού-με-νον
ἀλλ' ἀφθαρϲίαϲ πηγὴν ἐκ τά-φου ὀμ-βρή-ϲαν-τοϲ Χριϲ-τοῦ ἐν
ᾧ ϲτε-ρε-ού-με-θα·
(4) Ἐ-πὶ τῆϲ θεί-αϲ φυλακῆϲ ὁ
θε-η-γό-ροϲ Ἀβ-βα-κοὺμ ϲτή-τω μεθ' ἡ-μῶν καὶ δεικ-
νύ-τω φα-εϲ-φό-ρον ἄγ-γε-λον δι-α-πρυ-ϲτί-ωϲ
λέ-γον-τα ϲή-με-ρον ϲω-τη-ρί-α τῷ κόϲ-μῳ
ὅ-τι ἀ-νέϲ-τη Χριϲ-τὸϲ ὡϲ παν-το-δύ-να-μοϲ·

FIG. 1.—COD. ATHON. LAURAE B 32, f. 10*b*.

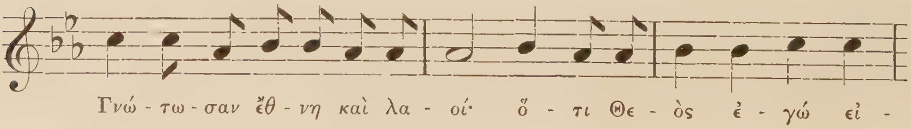
in the spoken tongue of the day, and the accent usually coincided with the musical stress. I have therefore merely indicated a plain-song rhythm in Ode I, though Ode II falls easily into the common 4-beat time. S. John could write good poetry, as his Easter canon proves; but these iambic odes, with their obsolete metre and archaic diction, are purely scholastic exercises.

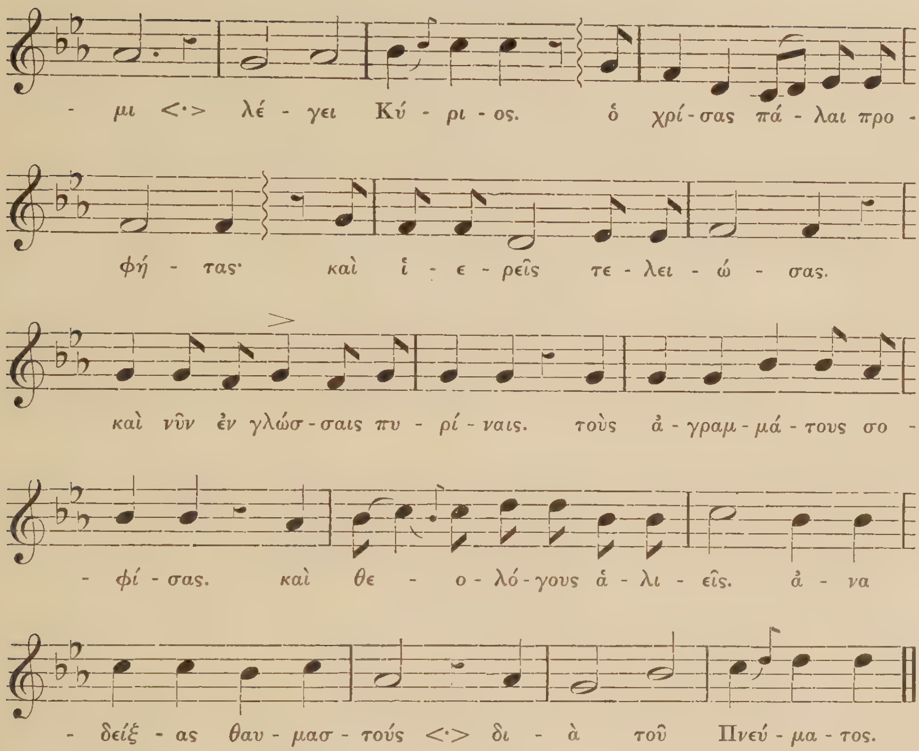
S. John of Damascus, *Canon for Pentecost.* (Cod. Laur. B. 32, f. 113).

MODE IV. ODE I.


or
Θεί - ῳ κα - λυφ - θεὶς ὁ βρα - δύ - γλωσ - σος γνό - φῳ,
ἐρ - ρη - τό - ρευ - σε τὸν θε - ό - γρα - φον νό - μον.
ἰ - λὺν γὰρ ἐκ - τι - νάξ - ας ὄμ - μα - τος νό - ου,
ὁ - ρᾷ τὸν ὄν - τα καὶ μυ - εῖ - ται πνεύ - μα - τος
γνῶ - σιν γε - ραί - ρων ἐν - θέ - οις τοῖς ᾄσ - μα - σιν.

ODE II. Anon.


Γνώ - τω - σαν ἔθ - νη καὶ λα - οί· ὅ - τι Θε - ὸς ἐ - γώ εἰ -


- μι <·> λέ - γει Κύ - ρι - ος. ὁ χρί - σας πά - λαι προ -
φή - τας· καὶ ἱ - ε - ρεῖς τε - λει - ώ - σας.
καὶ νῦν ἐν γλώσ - σαις πυ - ρί - ναις. τοὺς ἀ - γραμ - μά - τους σο -
- φί - σας. καὶ θε - ο - λό - γους ἁ - λι - εῖς. ἀ - να
- δείξ - ας θαυ - μασ - τούς <·> δι - ὰ τοῦ Πνεύ - μα - τος.

The first ode can be read easily. In the second there appears after *προφήτας* the sign called Homonion indicating repetition, and necessitating a return in this case to the lower starting-note of Mode IV. The repetition is not always exact. The first sign over *θεολόγους* is the Parakletike (No. 40 in the list given above). The division of certain of the versicles is a licence that may be allowed when the number of syllables is excessive.

I next give four short hymns from the MS. Laura Γ 67, with which our Treatise is bound up. On the adjoining page appear the first two *Stichera Anastasima*. The text and music, as given in our MS., differ greatly from the later and better known forms. I append the words below. In the illustrations I number each fifth bar for reference. We must note:—in the first hymn in Fig. 2: bar 5, here I read the supposed third form of the Konteuma (No. 44) already mentioned.[1] Bar 12, Stauros apo Dexias (No. 9), and again in bar 16. The final cross is probably a prolonged Ison, and has exactly the same force as the space followed by a dot in the older MS. In the second ode, bar 4, Pelaston (No. 34) and Ouranisma (No. 23). Bar 15, Laimos (No. 35). Bar 18, Apothema (No. 14).

Στιχηρὰ ἀναστάσιμα·[2] ἦχος α′. (*Music, Fig.* 2.)

(1) Εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοὶ <*> σαλπίσατε τὰ θεμέλια τῆς γῆς * βοήσατε τὰ ὄρη εὐφροσύνην * ἴδου γὰρ ὁ Ἐμμανουὴλ * τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν * τῷ σταυρῷ προσήλωσε * καὶ ζωὴν ὁ διδοὺς * θάνατον ἐνέκρωσε * τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀναστήσας ὡς φιλάνθρωπος.

(2) τῷ σαρκὶ ἑκουσίως * σταυρωθέντι δι' ἡμᾶς * παθόντι καὶ ταφέντι * καὶ ἀναστάντι ἐκ νεκρῶν * βοήσωμεν λέγοντες * στήριξον ὀρθοδοξίᾳ <*> τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Σου, Χριστέ. * καὶ εἰρήνευσον τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν * ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος.

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[1] The MS. is rather blurred just here; so that my view of it cannot claim to be at all certain.

[2] For these hymns and their place in the service, cf. Neale, J. M., *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, vol. ii. pp. 915 ff.

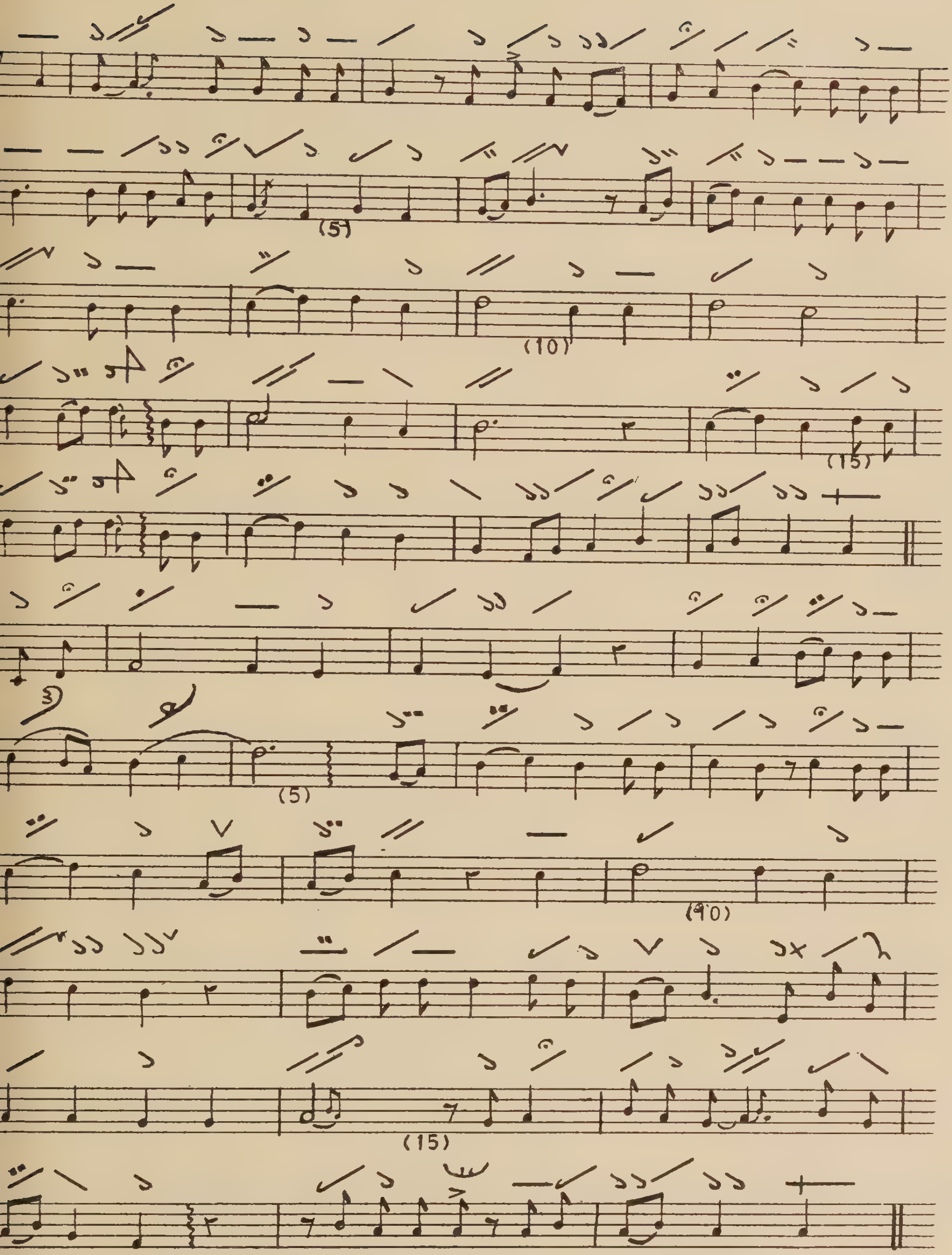
(5)
(10)
(15)
(5)
(10)
(15)

Fig. 2.—Cod. Athon. Laurae Γ 67, f. 107.

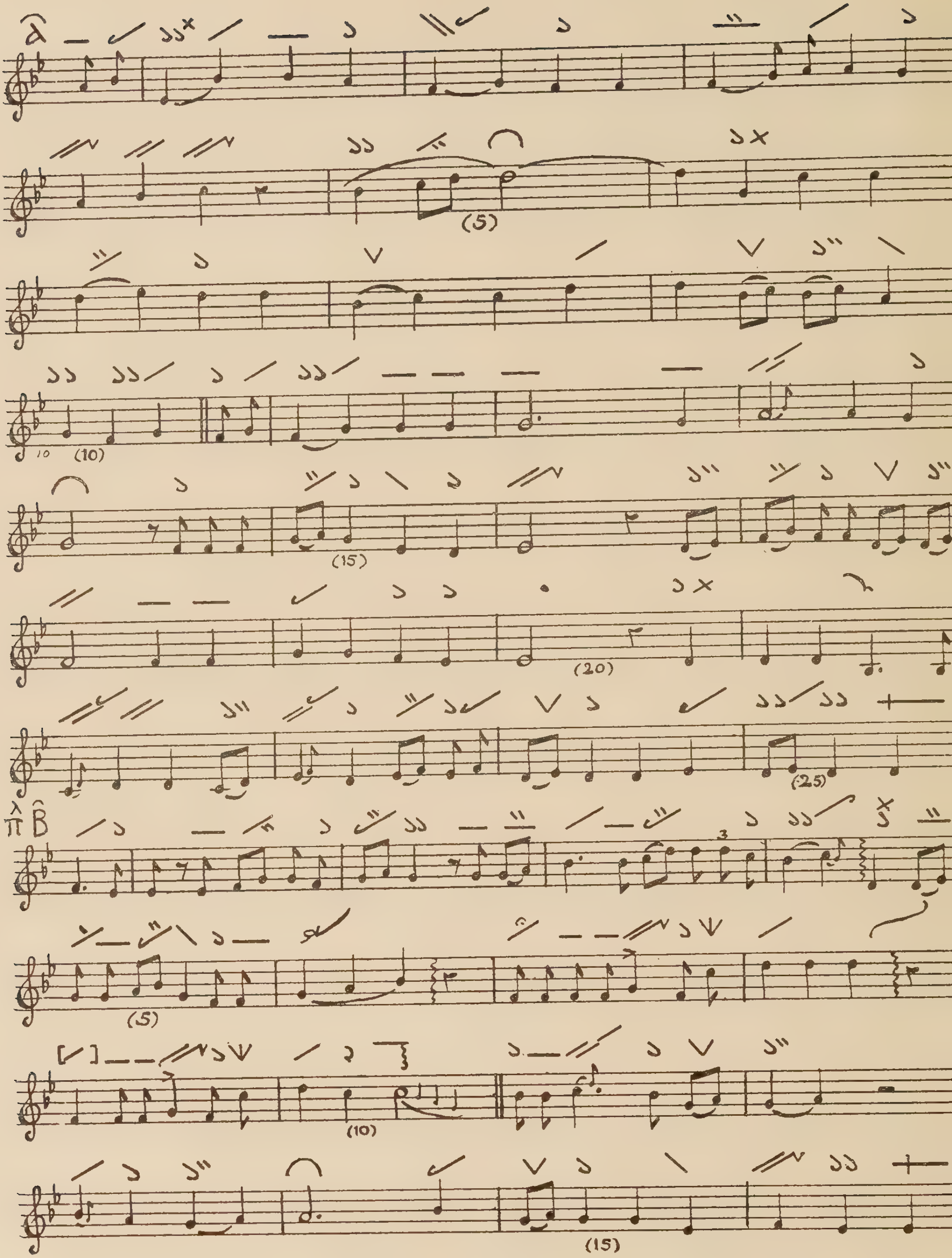
(5)
(10)
(15)
(20)
(25)
(5)
(10)
(15)

FIG. 3.—COD. ATHON. LAURAE Γ 67, ff. 75*b* AND 88*b*.

Fig. 3 contains hymns firstly for Low Sunday, secondly for Ascension. In the first hymn, bar 20, the Chamele does not perhaps denote a further drop of a fifth, but merely shews that we are a fifth below the starting-note. The same applies to the second hymn, bar 4. In the following bar the Ouranisma recurs. Bar 7, Hypsele apparently with interval-value: so in bar 9. Bar 8, Homoion: in bar 9 I have emended the MS. to make the passages match. Bar 10, Kataba-Tromikon (No. 33). It will be understood that the small notes answer to the subordinate signs and do not affect the chain of intervals.

Idiomelon for Low Sunday.[1] *Mode I.* (*Music, Fig.* 3.)

Μεθ᾽ ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ <*> τῆς ἐγέρσεώς Σου, Κύριε * ὤφθης τοῖς μαθηταῖς Σου * ἐν τόπῳ οὗ ἦσαν συνηγμένοι * καὶ φωνήσας αὐτοῖς * εἰρήνην ὑμῖν * τῷ ἀπιστοῦντι μαθητῇ <*> τὰς χεῖρας ὑπέδειξας * καὶ τὴν ἄχραντον πλευράν * ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἐβόα Σοι * ὁ Κύριος μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου· δόξα Σοι.

Idiomelon for Ascension Day.[2] *Mode II. plagal.* (*Music*, ibid.)

Κύριε, τῇ σῇ ἀναλήψει * ἐξεπλάγησαν τὰ Χερουβίμ * θεωρήσαντά Σε τὸν Θεὸν * ἐπὶ νεφελῶν ἀνερχόμενον * τὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν καθεζόμενον * καὶ δοξάζομέν Σε ὅτι χρηστὸν τὸ ἔλεός Σου· δόξα Σοι.

Finally I must repeat that all transcriptions from the Linear Notations are tentative, and that nothing is claimed for my theories beyond a higher degree of probability than seems to belong to any view hitherto put forward. The reader, by referring to the works already quoted and comparing other methods of decipherment with mine, can easily form his own judgment, and spare me the thankless task of attacking the conclusions of other writers. We shall, however, do well to remember that less than thirty years ago the Round System itself, now plain and familiar, was regarded by European scholars as an insoluble puzzle; so that there is no reason to despair of establishing principles by which the earlier notation may one day be read with equal certainty.

H. J. W. TILLYARD.

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[1] Modern version, N. Georgiou, *Doxastikarion*, p. 629.

[2] Modern version, *ibid.* p. 682.

THE BAPTISTERY AT KEPOS IN MELOS.

In April 1913, while at Melos, I took the opportunity of visiting the two churches of Kepos on the south side of the island at the South-eastern extremity of Mount Elias. The northern of these churches has in recent years been restored, and an account of it with a plan, has been published by Messrs. Fletcher and Kitson in the *Annual* of 1895–6.[1] This plan, however, was made before the church was restored and before the collapse of the dome which made that restoration necessary. There are therefore certain points which need revision in view of the present condition of the church, and there are others which require an altogether more detailed treatment.

The restoration has been carried out comparatively well. The main structure has been retained without serious alteration, but the paintings which were inside the dome are no longer in position and at present lie on the floor of the church in fourteen fragments.[2]

In the apse of the church is a cruciform font built up of slabs set on edge, of which separate plans are given in the article referred to above. The plans there given, however, do not correspond in all details with the font; these details can be seen from the plan and section given here (Figs. 1, 2), made from measurements which I took on the spot. Messrs. Fletcher and Kitson say that 'on three sides are seats, on the fourth towards the door of the church, are two steps down, and in the middle a well 2 ft. square.' But these so-called seats are really the same on all four sides of the font and are all of the same type as that drawn on the plan

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[1] *B.S.A.* ii. pp. 156–161. A plan, section and photograph are given also by Lambakis, **Δελτίον τῆς Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἑταιρείας**, vii. 1906, pp. 34 *sqq.*

[2] In *B.S.A.* ii. p. 159, they are described as being in position in the dome.

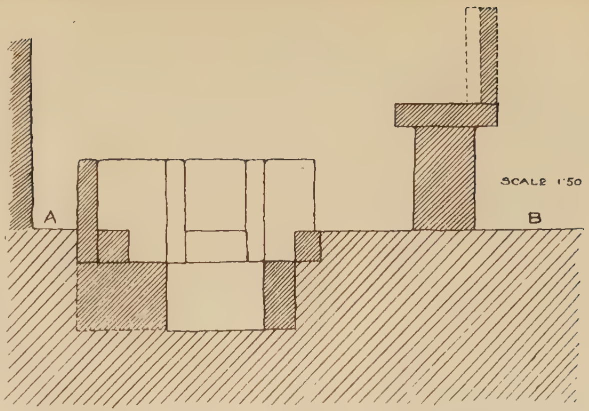
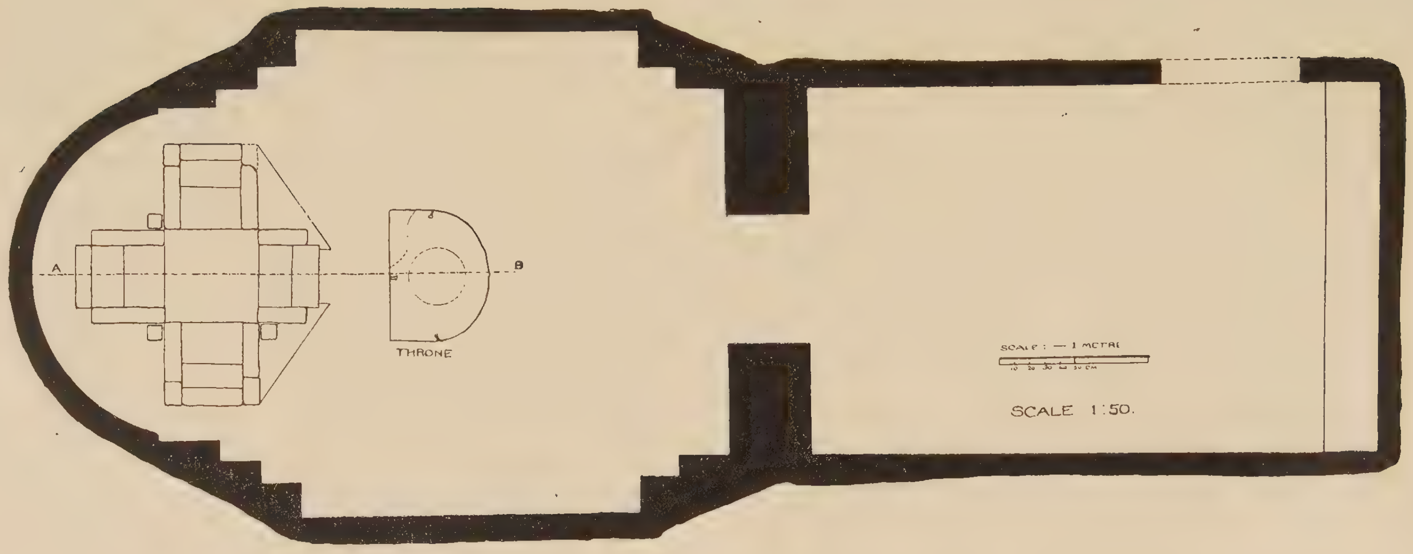

A
B
SCALE 1:50

FIG. 2.


A
B
THRONE
SCALE : — 1 METRE
10 20 30 40 50 CM
SCALE 1:50.

FIGS. 1, 2.—(1) PLAN OF THE KEPOS BAPTISTERY. (2) SECTION ON LINE A–B IN THE PLAN.

(*op. cit.* p. 158) on the west side: that is to say there are in fact two steps in each arm of the font. The probability is, therefore, that they are all intended to be steps and not seats. The actual position of the well of the font is wrongly shown on the plan on p. 157: it is a rectangle and its angles fit in to the angles made by the juncture of the lateral slabs of the arms of the font.

Reference is further made in the above article to the 'drum of an antique column' which 'serves for altar.' It is placed on the plan, however, at too great a distance from the font and is really only ·47 m. away from the edge of the first step of the west arm. This discrepancy, however, may possibly be accounted for by the removal, during restoration, of the drum and the changing of its position. But this seems to be unlikely, particularly as the drum was thought to be an altar by the natives, and Mr. Dawkins tells me that when he saw the church in 1911, shortly after the collapse of the dome and before the restoration, the drum was certainly in a position corresponding rather to its present position than to that shown on the plan of 1895–6. As it is to-day it consists of a roughly worked drum of coarse volcanic rock, measuring about ·68 m. in height and 1·25 m. in circumference (Fig. 3*a*). It is surmounted by a piece of marble shaped roughly like a semicircle, about ·86 m. in diameter. Both the material and the working of the drum seem to preclude the possibility of its being an antique column, in the sense at least of a column of classical origin. On the top of the marble slab at each side is the mark of a metal clamp. Along the front edge runs the following inscription:

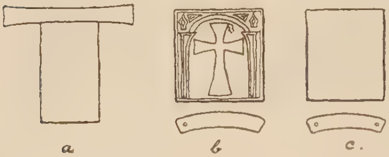


FIG. 3.—DETAILS OF THE THRONE IN THE KEPOS BAPTISTERY. (Scale 1 : 50.)

+ ΑΓΙΕΘΕΟΔωΡΕΦΡΟΝΤΙΖΕΗΜωΝ +

At present at the west end of the church against the south wall there are two slabs of marble lying on the floor. Each is slightly curved. One measures ·58 m. in width, ·61 m. in height and ·09 m. in thickness, and is decorated on the convex side with a cross and a conventional design in low relief (Fig. 3*b*). The other measures ·51 m. wide, ·61 m. in height and ·09 m. in thickness and has no decoration (Fig. 3*c*).

These two slabs fitted vertically on to the upper surface of the semicircular slab, meeting probably at a point on the medial line of the church. A fitting such as this is indicated in the drawings given by Fletcher and Kitson, but it is put to one side instead of on the medial line. Mr. Dawkins says that when he saw the drum, the marble slabs had been knocked off by the fragments of the collapsed dome, but that there were traces of mortar agreeing in position with the suggested arrangement of the slabs.

The slabs would thus form a back, and the whole would be a marble seat built on the floor of the chancel and facing the entrance to the font. The rough-hewn drum may be either of modern origin or contemporary with the marble seat upon it; but this is not an important point as, whatever the date of the basis of the marble seat may be, the structure demands some such support.[1]

What precisely was the nature of the ritual in cruciform fonts seems uncertain. It may have varied considerably. The water for this font may have been supplied artificially from the spring nearby, and I see no signs of the font having been connected with a spring, as Mr. Bosanquet suggests.[2]

The cruciform font found at Trypiti[3] in Melos was similarly supplied from outside. The cruciform font at Paros seems to be of much the same type; but it has a hole in the middle of the well-slab in which a pillar is fixed.[4]

The Melian type on the other hand throws some light on a passage from Isidore of Seville[5] referring to a fons 'cuius septem gradus sunt; tres in descensu, . . . tres in ascensu, septimus vero is est qui est quartus.'

There does not seem to be, however, any parallel for the throne in front of the font and there appears to be no doubt that the ritual varied in different places.

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[1] Lambakis (*op. cit.* p. 37) recognises that this structure is not an altar; he calls it an ambo.

[2] Note in *B.S.A.* ii. p. 168.

[3] *J.H.S.* xvi. p. 352 and xvii. p. 130 and plan on Pl. V. It has since been destroyed.

[4] For the use of this pillar, see Dawkins, p. 123 below.

[5] *De eccl. officiis*, ii. 25, 4, quoted by Bosanquet in *B.S.A.* ii. p. 168. The floor of the font would count as the seventh step. The fourth step would be the floor of the font approached from two opposite sides by three steps, the total thus making seven, and so the fourth could quite well be called the seventh, though it seems a curiously obscure passage.

The plan of the church in the article referred to, places the entrance at the west end. This was before the restoration; a new entrance has now been made on the south side at the west end, the old entrance being built up.

The second church has not been restored and is in ruins.

S. CASSON.

CRUCIFORM FONTS IN THE AEGEAN AREA.

THE Melian font described in the preceding paper by Mr. Casson is paralleled by several other examples from various parts of the Aegean area; all have in common a more or less cruciform plan, one or more of the arms of the cross being provided with steps. Some of these fonts are now published for the first time: of the majority, descriptions have already appeared, but for the most part in publications not generally accessible. It therefore seems worth while to publish the series of measured drawings and notes given below, which have been made at various times in the last ten years. The series of fonts described is intentionally confined to the Aegean area and Constantinople; the references at the end of the paper will enable the comparisons to be extended to the whole group.

1. Paros, church of Hekatontapyliani; overall measurement (east to west) 2·95 m. (Plan and section in Fig. 1).

This is the closest parallel to the Melian font, and is built up in the same way of marble slabs set on edge. The steps are confined to the eastern and western arms. One has disappeared from the former and two from the latter flight; their existence and dimensions can, however, be recovered from the marks left on the inner faces of the side-slabs. The outer faces of these are decorated with carved panels with Greek crosses in low relief. In the centre of the font is a stone post, with a small socket in the top: the post was evidently used, like the porphyry column of the Lateran Baptistery, to support a vessel containing incense.[1]

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[1] *Liber Pontificalis* (Silvester, ch. 13) quoted by C. F. Rogers (*Baptism and Christian Archaeology*, p. 270): *in medio fontis columna porfyretica qui portat fiala aurea ubi candela est . . . ubi ardet in diebus Paschae balsamum*, etc.

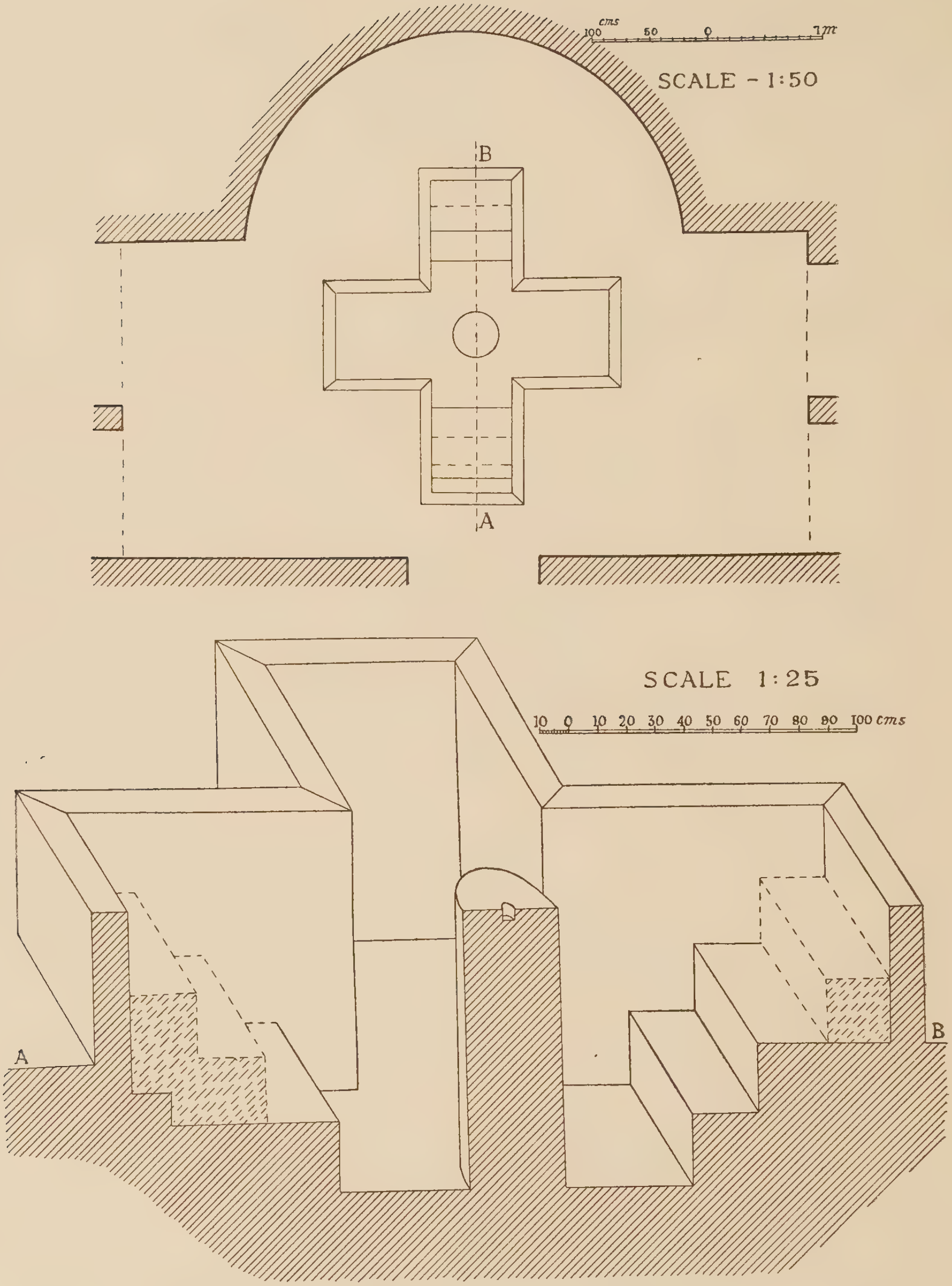
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FIG. 1.—PLAN AND SECTION OF FONT IN THE CHURCH OF HEKATONTAPYLIANI, PAROS.

This font will be fully published in the book on the church shortly to be issued by the Byzantine Fund.[1]

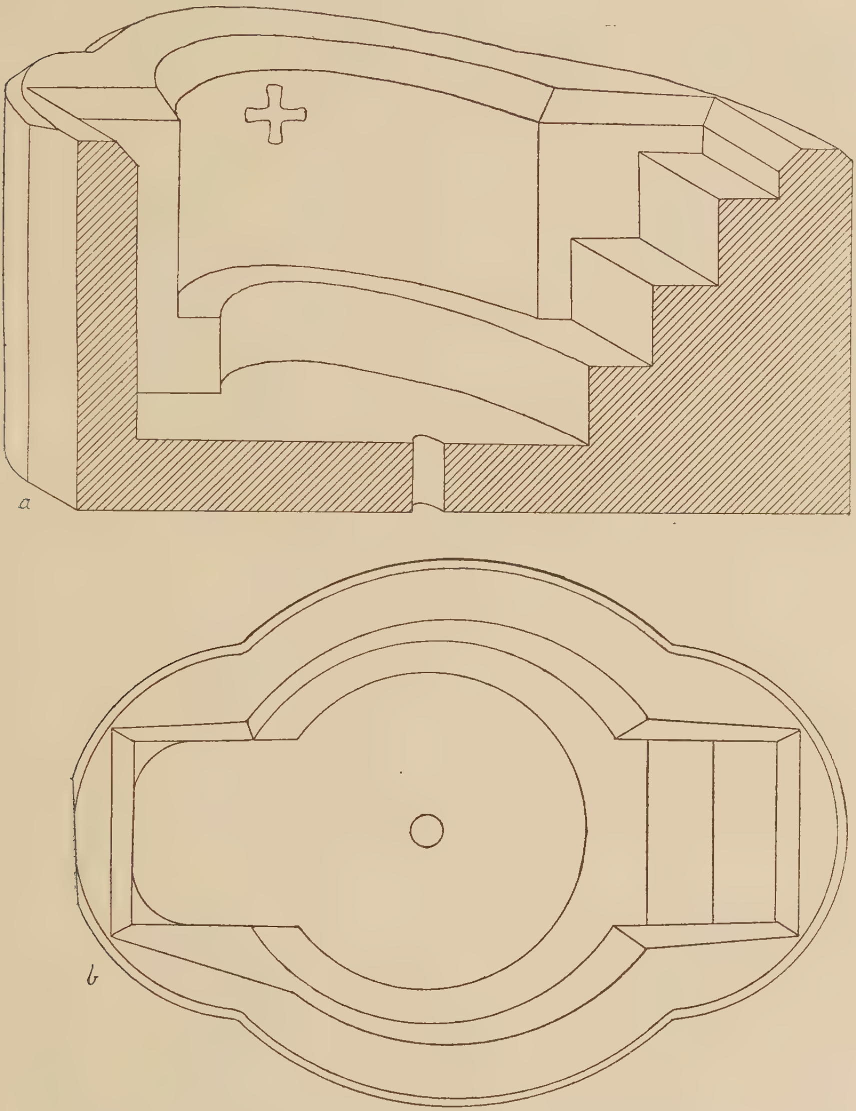

FIG. 2.—FONT (2) AT CONSTANTINOPLE: *a*, LONGITUDINAL SECTION; *b*, PLAN. (Scale 1 : 25.)

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[1] A plan of the font and baptistery has been published by Lambakes, **Δελτίον Χτ. Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρείας**, i. p. 111 (and in *Monuments Chr. de la Grèce*, p. 8), a photograph in the same periodical, vii. p. 39.

2. Constantinople, in front of Imperial Museum; length 2·57 m., height 1·22 m. (Fig. 2).

This is a large monolithic font of greyish Proconnesian marble. The steps, four in number, are confined to one arm of the cross, the form of which is not very clearly brought out. The bottom is pierced and the top surface shews a number of holes drilled to receive the attachments of some

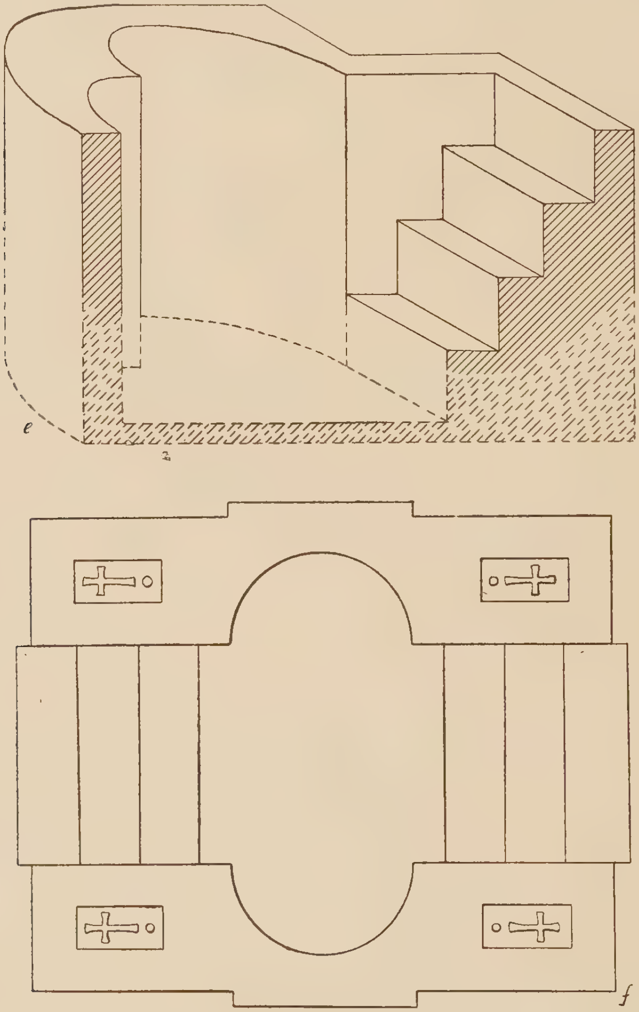

FIG. 3.—*e*, FONT (3) AT CONSTANTINOPLE (SECTION); *f*, FONT AT SCALA NUOVA.
(Scale 1 : 25.)

superstructure, possibly a canopy or frame to support curtains.[1] I interpret the holes in this way as some of them still contain remains of lead. Many are in the centre or arms of more or less well-preserved incised crosses. Six such crosses are indicated on the rim of the font by Lethaby and Swainson[2] and Rogers.[3] I incline to think that they were not decorative but designed to take the cross-shaped feet of vertical stanchions. Another cross is clearly incised on the inner wall of the font. The outer surface of the end away from the steps has been flattened and on the surface thus obtained has been carved a shallow niche with mouldings; in the middle of the niche are marks of a tap. The mouldings are Turkish, and it is clear that the font has been adapted by the Turks as a cistern with a tap. It was formerly in the precincts of the Zeinab Sultana Mosque, to the west of S. Sophia.

It is therefore probable that it served for the ablutions made by Moslems before prayer. Paspates thought it was the font of the Baptistery at S. Sophia[4]: if this could be substantiated it would give a useful fixed point for the dating of the whole series of fonts.

3. Constantinople, outside the church of SS. Peter and Mark (Hoja Atik Mustapha Jamissi) in the Aivan Serai quarter; length 1·85 (Fig. 3).

This font, a monolith of grey marble, now lies half-buried in rubbish. The photograph in Fig. 4 is from van Millingen's account of the church,[5] and the section in Fig. 3, *e* is based on the measurements given by him. It will be noticed that the cruciform plan is here modified to a trefoil with a stem, in which latter the single flight of steps is placed.

4. Constantinople, in front of Imperial Museum (Inventory No. 2459); length, 1·60 m., height, 1·58 m. (Fig. 5, *c*, *d*).

From the plan and section it will be seen that the resemblance to No. 3 above is very close, the main difference being that there are no steps.

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[1] For this feature in early baptisteries see Kraus, *Realencyclopädie der christl. Alterthumer*, s.v. *Taufkirche*, p. 842; Rogers, *Baptism*, pp. 352 ff.

[2] Lethaby and Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia*, *Constantinople*, p. 82.

[3] Rogers, *Baptism*, p. 329.

[4] Lethaby and Swainson, *op. cit.* p. 81: but the dimensions given by the Russian monk (fifteenth-century) for the font at S. Sophia are much larger (Ἀντωνιάδης, Ἁγία Σοφία, i. 121).

[5] *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, pp. 192–194; drawings of this font are given in Pulgher's *Églises de Constantinople*, Pl. XIV. 7, 8 and in Δελτίον Χτ. Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρείας, x. p. 34.

The horizontal groove in the stem of the trefoil, which appears in the section, is possibly for the insertion of a wooden step. As in the case of the big monolith (**3**), and for the same purpose, a section of the curved circumference has been cut flat and a niche sunk in it; the flat face has been decorated with a rosette ornament in the Turkish style and provided with holes for taps. This font was found in 1911 near Top Kapu.

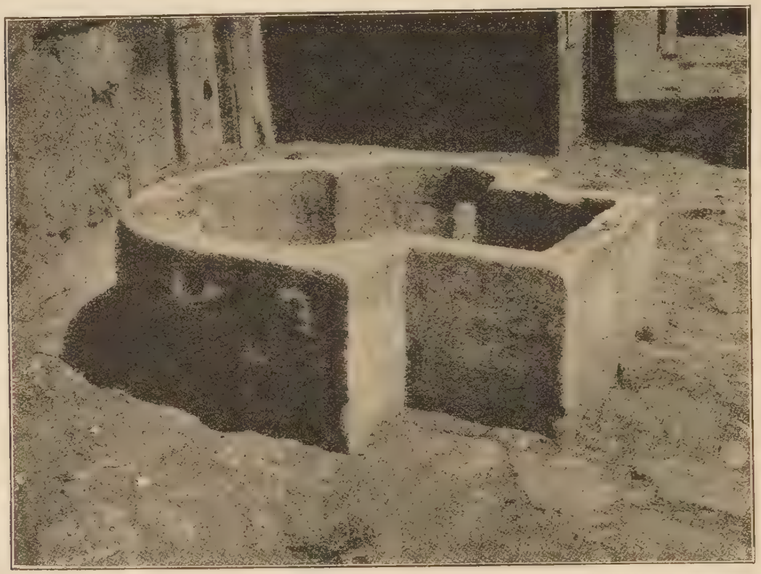

FIG. 4.—FONT (3) AT CONSTANTINOPLE, after van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople.* Pl. LI below (p. 192).

(*By courteous permission of Messrs. Macmillan & Co.*)

5. Scala Nuova; 'length 1·95 m., breadth 1·59 m., depth inside, ·98 m.' (Fig. 3, *f*).

This monolithic font, seen and measured by Prof. Lambakes at a place called Boyalikia, an hour from Scala Nuova,[1] is of the same type but with two flights of steps. Fig. 3, *f* is copied from his sketch. Prof. Lambakes dates the font (but without giving any reasons) to the fifth or sixth century.

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[1] *Λαμπάκης*, **Οἱ ἑπτὰ Ἀστέρες τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως**, p. 126, and Fig. 86, p. 128. A photograph was taken by Prof. Lambakes and deposited in the collection of the Christian Archaeological Society (No. 6415).

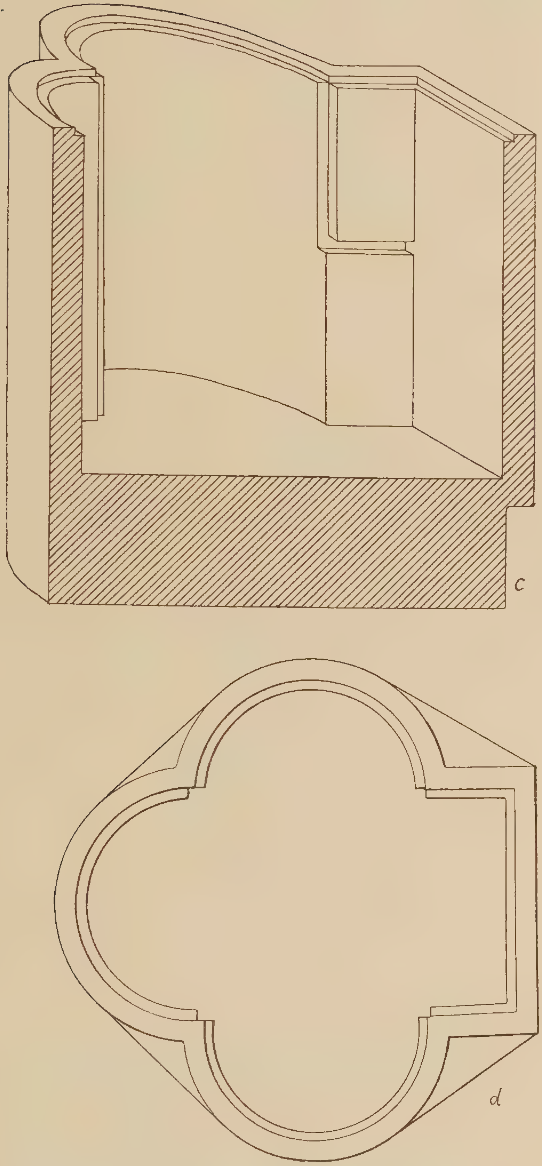

Fig. 5.—Font (4) at Constantinople: *c*, Longitudinal Section; *a*, Plan.
(Scale 1 : 25.)

6. Karpathos; 'height 1·20 m., inner circumference 2·10 m., outer 4·10 m.' (Fig. 6, *g*).

I saw this monolithic font in 1903 lying in a field near the houses at the harbour of Pegadia. The sketch-plan was drawn shortly after my visit to the island from my recollections and the measurements given by Manolakakes[1]; it can therefore only claim approximate accuracy, but gives, I believe, all the essential features. It has a hole to carry off the water.

8. Marmaris (Anc. Physkos), Lycia; 'length 5 ft., breadth 4 ft., height 2 ft.' (Fig. 6, *h*).

This monolithic font was published with two illustrations in an Athenian periodical of 1885.[2] The drawing has been constructed from these illustrations and the measurements given with them (see above). The (anonymous) writer of the article says that the font was discovered near a wall and the remains of a domed building (probably the remains of the baptistery in which it originally stood) in March 1885, and that the Duke of Edinburgh had bought it intending to take it to England. It is said to be now at Sandringham. There is an inscription on part of the band which surrounds the cruciform hollow, transcribed as follows by the author of the article: ΕΠΙ ΤΗ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΑΠΕΙΝΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΚΑΙ Ο ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΦΥΛΑΞΟΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΕΡΓΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΑΜΗΝ +

From a poor facsimile given it is plain that in this transcription the spelling has been considerably corrected.

9. Boseuyuk, Galatia (Fig. 6, *i*).

I owe to Mr. Hasluck a reference to a monolithic cruciform font seen here in 1553 by Dernschwam, whose journal contains the following notice of it :—*Vor der Metzit hat es ein rohr prunnen und trankstellen an der strassen darunter ein weisser marmelsteinen trog, viereckt 8 spannet breit*

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[1] *Μανωλακάκης*, **Καρπαθιακά,** Athens, 1896, p. 41.

[2] **Ἀστὴρ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς,** May 4, 1885. The name of the place is here given as Μαρμορικὴ, a false form derived from the *Marmorice* of the earlier British charts; the later charts have *Marmarice*, both being attempts to render phonetically the official Turkish *Marmarís*. The vulgar Turkish *Marmarís* is derived locally (Cuinet, *Asie Mineure*, iii. p. 672) from *Mimar as* ('hang the architect'). All these forms come eventually from the (late) Greek Μαρμαρᾶς; the town is called *Fisco* down to the middle ages (Tomaschek in *Sitzb. Wien. Ak.* (*P. H. Cl.*) cxxiv (viii), 1891, p. 41). *Marmarous* occurs in the contemporary (?) Turkish account of the siege of Rhodes (1522) from which extracts are given in *Mem. Acad. Inscrr.* xxvi. 744; the contemporary Christian chronicler of the same event has *Fisco*.

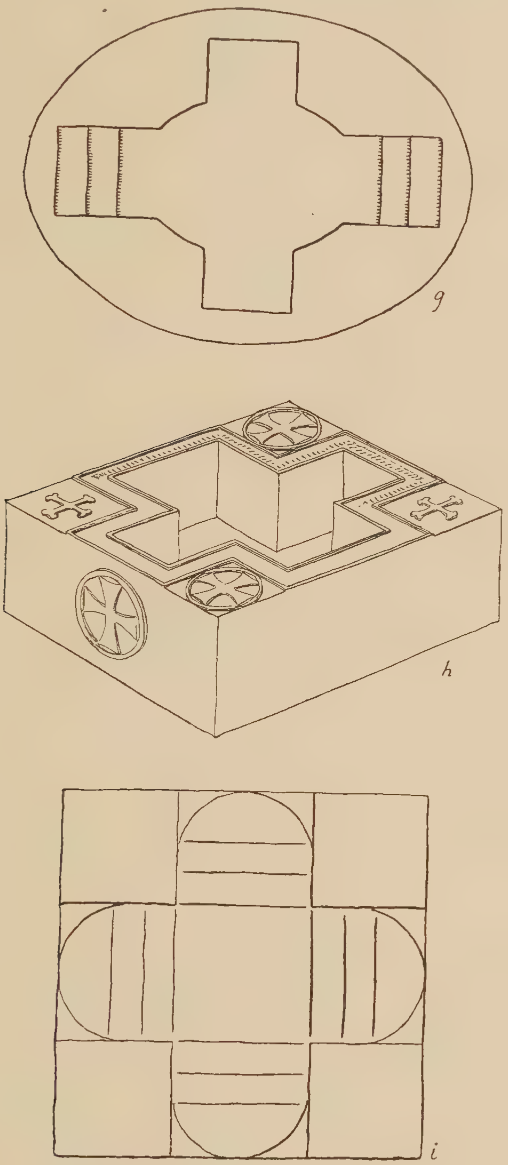

FIG. 6.—FONTS FROM KARPATHOS (*g*), MARMARIS (*h*), AND BOSEUYUK (*i*).

und hoch und inwendig auf allen vier Seiten zwei staffel hinabwerts ausgehauen, also breit das ein mensch darauf sitzen mag.[1] Dernschwam's sketch is given in the figure. The font appears to have resembled the Melian example found during the excavations of the British School on the 'Three Churches' site.[2]

10. At **Maito** (Madytos), on the European side of the Dardanelles, Papadopoulos records that the French at the time of the Crimean war made an excavation in the hope of finding the tomb of Hecuba and discovered a cruciform font (*σταυροειδὴς κολυμβήθρα*).[3] As this is not mentioned by Lambakes who knew of the work of Papadopoulos, in his recent account of the Christian antiquities of Madytos,[4] this font seems to be lost.

For cruciform and analogous types of fonts and baptisteries in other parts of the Christian world Rogers gives numerous references.[5] A monolithic font with steps inside seen by Texier at Synnada in Phrygia (Eski Kara Hissar)[6] seems to belong to the same class though it is not definitely described as cruciform.

R. M. DAWKINS.

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[1] Ed. Kiepert in *Globus*, lii. p. 217.

[2] *J.H.S.* xvii. 130 (plan on Pl. V). This font has now been destroyed by the islanders.

[3] **Μάδυτος, Πατριδογραφία Χρυσοστόμου Α. Παπαδοπούλου,** Athens, 1890, p. 24: the font was found *ἐν τῷ Σκαλίῳ*, where was formerly a celebrated church of S. Euthymios (p. 38).

[4] **Δελτίον τῆς Χτ. Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρείας,** x, pp. 51 f.

[5] *Op. cit.*, throughout.

[6] *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, i. p. 146.

THE TSAKONIAN DIALECT.—I.

§ 1.—INTRODUCTION.

THE area over which the Tsakonian dialect is spoken lies on the east coast of the Peloponnese between the Parnon range and the sea. Its northern boundary is roughly the torrent which, rising on Parnon above Kastánitsa, flows into the sea near Ayios Andréas, its southern the torrent which, also rising on Parnon, passes through Lenídhi to the sea. A mountain range stretches along the coast from end to end of the district, reaching its highest point (1114 metres) in Mt. Sevetíla above the village of Korakovúni. Between Tyrós and Pramateftí, the seaward slopes of this range are gentle and well covered with soil. Behind these coast hills there stretches a long highland plain, known as the Palaiókhora, which, in the north, is fairly well covered with soil, but gradually rises towards the south into a region of stony grazing land, and terminates abruptly in the heights above Lenídhi. The high hill of Oríonda rises out of the Palaiókhora to the west and forms a natural centre-point of the whole district. Behind it stretching up to the bare rock of Parnon, is rough hilly country, cut here and there by ravines and offering but rare patches of cultivable land. (Fig. 1.)

The number of Tsakonian-speakers at the present time is roughly about 8,000. Nearly half of them live in the large village of Lenídhi; north of this dotted along the coast are the three villages of Pramateftí, Pera Mélana, and Tyros (with the neighbouring Sapunakéïka). Ayios Andréas lies at the southern end of the plain of Astros, on the western slope of the coast range, about an hour from the sea. Kastánitsa and Sítena are highland villages close under Parnon, whilst Prastós is built on a broad ridge further east. There are also small groups of shepherds' huts at Sokhá and Vaskína in the Palaiókhora and a few houses at Phúska, halfway up the Ayios Andréas torrent, on the south bank. The villages of Korakovúni in the hills an hour south of Ayios Andréas, and Ayios Vasílios about three hours south of Prastós are non-Tsakonian.

The coast villages, especially Lenídhi and Ayios Andréas have the best land and produce vines, olives, corn, cotton, oranges and various other fruits. At Kastánitsa and Sítena the soil is good, but they are too high to produce such things as vines and olives well. The hills round Kastánitsa are well timbered especially with chestnuts. Phúska is also a fertile district. The rest of the country is for the most part poor grazing land for goats and sheep.

The Tsakonians are thus chiefly farmers, gardeners and shepherds, although many of them are engaged in commerce in Tripolitsa, Spetza, Nauplia, Peiraeus, Constantinople, and Egypt. Very many of the older men have spent their lives abroad and emigration to America is of course common. Those emigrants who return, as most of them do, have partially or completely lost the dialect. Moreover every village has its school, and with the daily service of steamers to Ástros and Lenídhi, newspapers reach the district quite freely. Under these conditions the dialect is rapidly falling into disuse, and, although it still remains, at any rate in the smaller villages, the language of the women, and, as the schoolmasters have told me, the children do not know ordinary Greek when first they go to school, it is nevertheless only the oldest women, and very few even of these, who are ignorant of the ordinary language.

§ 2.—HISTORY OF TSAKONIA.

The ancient Kynouria[1] seems to have comprised all the strip of land along the east coast of the Peloponnese from the Argolid southwards perhaps as far as Cape Malea, and therefore to have included the district now known as Tsakonia. The Kynourians are said by Herodotus[2] to have been, like the Arkadians, the original inhabitants of the region which they occupied, and to have been Doricised by the Argives. According to Pausanias[3] they were of Argive origin, and the Argives, prior to the Dorian invasion, spoke the same language as the Athenians.

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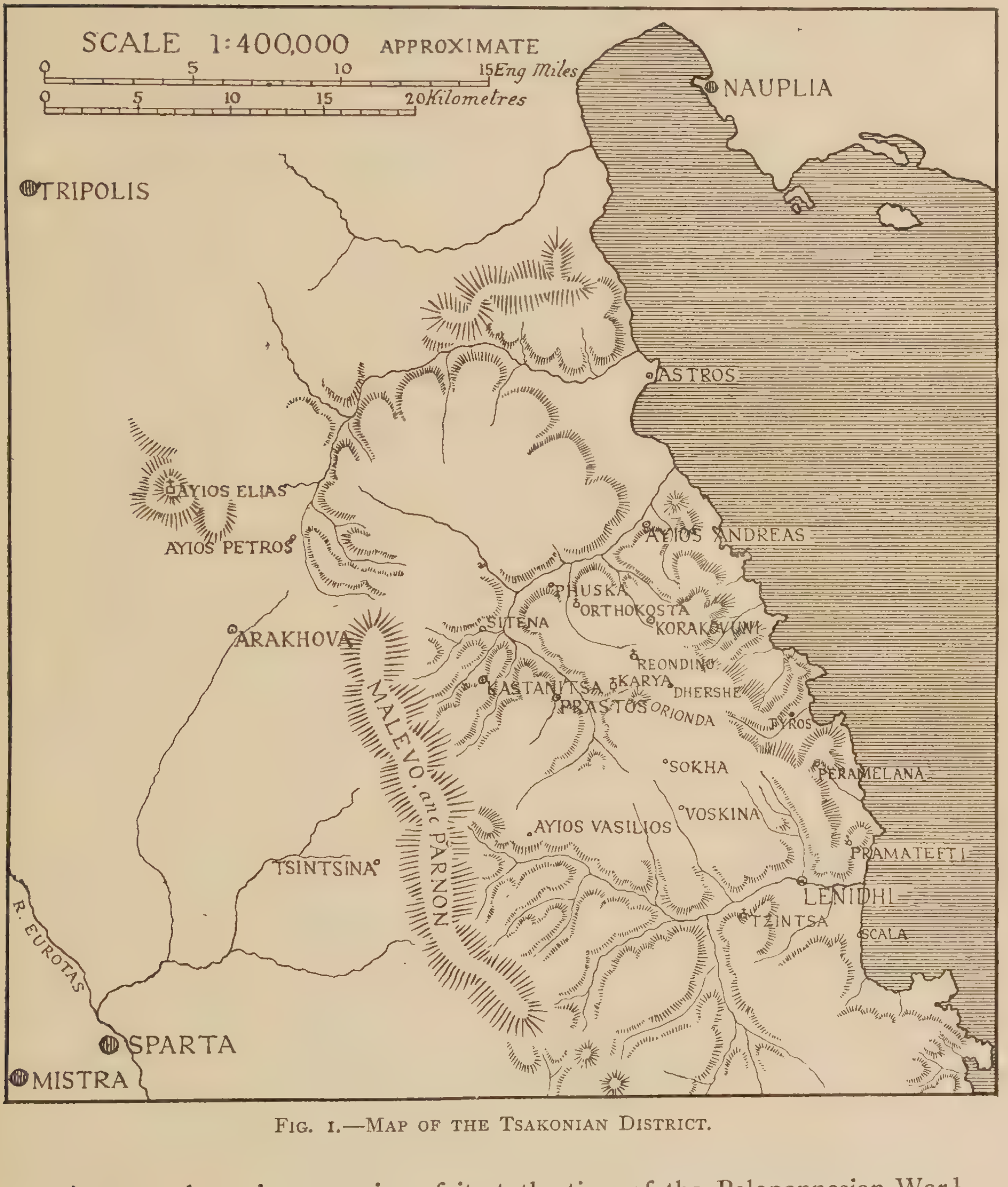
[1] Thuc. v. 41. 2; Her. i. 82.

[2] viii. 73.

[3] iii. 2, ii. 37.

After long struggles Sparta succeeded in wresting Kynouria from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PHUSKA
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KORAKOVUNI
SITENA
ARAKHOVA
REONDINO
KASTANITSA
KARYA
DHERSHE
PRASTOS
ORIONDA
TYROS
SOKHA
PERAMELANA
VOSKINA
AYIOS VASILIOS
MALEVO, anc PARNON
TSINTSINA
PRAMATEFTI
LENIDHI
TZINTSA
SCALA
R. EUROTAS
SPARTA
MISTRA

FIG. 1.—MAP OF THE TSAKONIAN DISTRICT.

Argos, and was in possession of it at the time of the Peloponnesian War.[1]

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[1] Thuc. v. 14. 4.

The Aeginetans, established in Thyrea by the Spartans[1] 431 B.C., formed no permanent element in the population, as they were expelled by the Athenians only seven years later.[2] Apparently the Spartans lost the northern part of the district during the first part of the fourth century B.C., as the men of Phlius, who came to Sparta's aid in 370, had to land at Prasiai and march from there over the southern end of Parnon.[3] In the third century the towns of Polichna, Prasiai, Leukai, Kyphanta, Glympes, and Zarax were in the hands of the Argives,[4] probably as a result of the settlement made by Philip of Macedon.[5]

The Eleutherolakones,[6] set free by Augustus from the Lacedaemonians of Sparta, originally consisted of twenty-four cities, and in Pausanias' day eighteen of these, Gythion, Teuthrone, Las, Pyrrikhos, Kainepolis, Oitylos, Leuktra, Thalamai, Alagonia, Gerenia, Asopos, Akriai, Boiai, Zarax, Epidauros Limera, Brasiai, Geronthrai and Marios, still remained free. Brasiai[7] was the most northerly of these on the coast. The coast towns of Lakonia had already in 195 B.C. been made independent by Flamininus.[8]

There are ancient remains in the district at Ayios Andréas, Tyrós, the Scala of Lenídhi, and Ayios Vasílios. About three-quarters of an hour north-east of Ayios Andréas on a low hill by the sea are traces of a considerable fort or town completely enclosed by a well-made polygonal wall, with numerous large cisterns and a road cut in the rock leading up to the highest point, on which a church now stands. At Tyrós on a low hill running out into the sea are remains, in one place fifteen to eighteen feet high, of an enclosure of cyclopean masonry. A small shrine of Apollo Tyritas, on the hill of Ayios Elías between Tyrós and Mélana, was excavated by the Greek Archæological Society in 1911.[9] There are also traces of an ancient town on the hill-side above the Plaka of Lenídhi. Numerous ancient tombs have been found both here and at Tyrós. The *Γλυμπεῖς* of Polybius,[10] is undoubtedly to be identified with the ruins which exist close by Ayios Vasílios to the south.[11] The ancient town near Lenídhi was probably

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[1] Thuc. ii. 27. [2] Thuc. iv. 56. [3] Xen. Hell. vii. 2.

[4] Polyb. iv. 36, v. 20. This probably means the whole of Kynouria at least as far south as Zarax.

[5] Paus. ii. 20. [6] Paus. iii. 21. 6 foll. [7] Paus. iii. 24. 3. [8] Livy, xxxiv. 35.

[9] **Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑτ.** 1911, pp. 253 ff.

[10] Polyb. 4. 36. The name given by Pausanias (iii. 22. 8) is *Γλυππία*.

[11] **Πρακτικά,** 1911, p. 277 ; **Ἀθηνᾶ**, 1906, p. 553.

Prasiai, that near Ayios Andréas either Anthene or Thyrea, probably the former. The old names are preserved only in Tyrós[1] and *Λύμπια* or *Λυμποχώρια*, the local name for the district of Ayios Vasílios.[2]

In classical times all the towns within the Tsakonian area, with the exception of Glympeis, seem to have been on the coast, and from the evidence of the few inscriptions that have come to light, more especially from the finds which were made at the excavation near Tyrós, already mentioned, the population seems to have been from an early date under strong Lakonian influence.

From the second to the tenth century A.D. no direct reference is made to this part of Greece. Meantime the country suffered from the misgovernment and excessive taxation of the Empire, from the great plague, and in the seventh and eighth centuries from the incursions of Slavs and Avars. These invaders were supreme in Achaia and Elis until they were defeated at Patras in 807.[3] The Slavs on Taÿgetos were still troublesome in the thirteenth century,[4] and earlier seem to have held the whole Eurotas valley, but Tsakonia was not one of the districts in which they settled,[4] although from the place-names, Dragalevo and Meligu, they seem to have established themselves in the northern part of Kynouria. The modern name occurs for the first time in the tenth century in Porphyrogenitos,[5] who mentions Tzekones as being used for garrison duty in the Empire. Nikephoros Gregoras[6] says that in the thirteenth century the navy of Michael Palaiologos was partly composed of 'Lakones, freshly arrived from the Peloponnese, whose name in the common language had been corrupted into Tzakones.' Pachymeres[7] records that the same emperor settled in Constantinople with their wives and children a large and warlike body of Lakones, vulgarly known as Tzakones, who came *ἔκ τε Μορέου καὶ τῶν δυσικῶν μερῶν*. These statements shew that the Tsakonians in those days inhabited a mountainous region, as it was usual in the

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[1] Cf. Steph. Byz. i. 428 (Dind.) **Τύρος Λακωνικῆς**.

[2] **'Αθηνᾶ**, 1906, p. 553. The topography of these places is discussed at length by Leake (*Morea*, ii. 485 ff.; *Peloponnesiaca*, 294 ff.), Ross (*Reisen im Peloponnesos*, 163 ff.), Curtius (*Peloponnesos*, ii. 375 ff.), and Wace and Hasluck (*B.S.A.* xv. 173 ff.).

[3] Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 10; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 179.

[4] *Chronicle of the Morea*, 3040 (Schmitt).

[5] B, i. p. 696. Most of these references have been collected by Deville and Thiersch, but I have verified them all. Others have been suggested to me by Mr. F. W. Hasluck.

[6] *Ibid.* B, i. 98. 13.

[7] *Hist. Mich. Pal.* p. 173 (Ed. Rom. p. 209).

Byzantine Empire to secure revenue by taxing the inhabitants of fertile districts, and to employ only mercenaries and the inhabitants of poor regions in the army and navy.

More precise information is given by the *Chronicle of the Morea*, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century, where Tsakonia is frequently mentioned. In the south it included Yeráki[1] Geronthrai, but not Helos, Vatika, nor Monemvasia, and in the north Dragalevo did not form part of it.[2]

The *Chronicle* describes[3] how Geoffrey I. Villehardouin (1209–1218) invaded Lakedaimonia, then overran Tsakonia and advanced as far south as Helos, Vatika and Monemvasia, after which the rulers of Lakedaimonia and Amykli (Nikli) submitted, and how later[4] William II. Villehardouin (1245–1278) captured Monemvasia, whereupon Vatika and Tsakonia immediately offered submission; but afterwards William was defeated and captured by the Emperor Theodoros, and only obtained release after three years' imprisonment by ceding Monemvasia, Maina and Mistra. It was not long before Tsakonia together with Vatika and the Melingi again revolted but were again defeated and William's army once more overran Dragalevo and Tsakonia.

References to the various places of Tsakonia also begin about this time. A golden bull[5] of Andronikos II. (1293) mentions a bishopric, ἡ τοῦ Ῥέοντος, and the villages Καστάνιτζα, Ζίντζινα and ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Λεωνίδου. A silver bull[6] of Theodoros II. Palaiologos (*circa* 1442) exempted from the privileges granted to Monemvasia, among other places, Τζακονία, which included Ῥέων, Πραστός, Καστάνιτζα and Ἅγιος Λεωνίδης. Phrantzes[7] mentions Προάστειον, Λεωνίδας, Ῥέοντας and Σίτανας as places τῆς Λακωνικῆς which he secured for Maria Melissene in 1435. In Gastaldi's map of Greece,[8] made about 1545, the coast district south of To Astrí, corresponding roughly to modern Tsakonia, is marked Sacanía. In Marin Michiel's report,[9] written in the year 1691, mention is made of a 'high' and 'low,' *i.e.* probably a northern and a southern, Tsakonia.[1] The inhabitants of 'high' Tsakonia are described [2] as an 'active, intelligent, faithful and hardy race, who serve throughout the whole Realm as couriers, and travel with incredible speed through the mountains from one place to another.' The fact that the region between Lenídhi and Yeráki, which was part of Tsakonia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, is now inhabited by Albanians, probably explains this distinction of 'high' and 'low' Tsakonia. Ayios Petros, now a large non-Tsakonian-speaking village two or three hours to the north of Tsakonia, is twice mentioned in this report,[3] as forming part of Tsakonia. The bishopric of Réondas[4] is also mentioned. In 1573 the Tsakonians inhabited fourteen villages between Nauplia and Monemvasia.[5] Réondas, the ruins of which are to be seen on the hill of Oríonda, was probably destroyed in the eighteenth century in consequence of Greek risings against the Turks. Prastós was a large and flourishing village of 400 or 500 houses and nine or ten churches, until the ravages of Ibrahim and his Egyptians in 1826, when the inhabitants fled to Lenídhi and the other coast villages. Very few of them have returned and most of the houses and all but one of the churches are now in ruins.

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[1] Ll. 1937–8, 3166–7 (Ed. Schmitt).

[2] *Ibid.* ll. 2064–5, 2960–1, 4591, 4661, 5025–6, 5622, 6653. In view of these lines and more especially of the fact that Lakedaimonia is frequently mentioned in the *Chronicle* and never as identical with or forming part of Tsakonia, Schmitt can hardly be right in stating (p. 640) that Tsakonia was the general name given to Lakonia.

[3] *Ibid.* 2064 ff.

[4] *Ibid.* 2956 ff.

[5] Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Dipl. Graec.* v. p. 155.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 171.

[7] B, p. 159.

[8] Sathas, *Doc. Inédits*, iii.

[9] Λάμπρος, **Ἱστορικὰ μελετήματα**, pp. 199 ff.

The historical evidence seems to point to a continuous habitation of the Tsakonian area, without any considerable change of population, by a people belonging, like the Arkadians, to the earliest known race in Greece. Already under strong Lakonian influence at least as early as the fifth century B.C., the population, under the Eleutherolakonian League, probably spoke a sort of Lakonian *Koine*, which must have existed in those days. The district has always been somewhat isolated and never attained to any political or commercial importance, even during the greatness of Monemvasia. The evidence of the *Chronicle of the Morea* is decisive against any large infusion of Slavs into the population. At least as early as the thirteenth century the name Tsakonia was applied to a large district which included the Tsakonia of to-day, stretched northwards perhaps as far as Astros, and southwards to Yeráki, and probably also contained villages such as Tsíntsina on the western slopes of Parnon. The district and name were also already identified with the ancient Lakonia, though whether by a genuine popular tradition or merely by the learned it is impossible to say. The population, which in classical times was mainly on the coast, centred chiefly round the highland villages of Réondas and Prastós in the middle ages,[1] perhaps in consequence of piracy, and has only returned to the coast in comparatively modern times.

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 208. Il territorio di Mistrà compreso . . . tra l' alte et aspre montagne dell' alta e bassa Zacognà.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 209.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 210, 211. San Piero di Zacognà.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 210. Vescovi di . . . di Reondas.

[5] Crusius, *Turcograecia*, p. 489.

§ 3.—BIBLIOGRAPHY.[2]

The first important information on the dialect is supplied by Villoison,[3] who states some of the phonetic peculiarities and gives a few examples of each. He obtained his facts from a Tsakonian in Athens, and only deals with a very small part of the subject.[4]

Leake[5] has a few very inaccurate notes on the phonetics and grammar.

Thiersch[6] first attempted a serious study of the dialect. He gives a short phonology and tabulates the pronouns and the verb fairly well, but deals very scantily with the noun. He seems to have obtained his information chiefly in Nauplia, and the only distinction between the two branches of the dialect he records is the dropping of λ before back vowels. His study includes a historical account of the district, and three very short and inaccurate texts, one of which is the Lord's Prayer. His system of recording the sounds is very misleading,[7] and his philological explanations are fanciful. He compares forms which have arisen by modern phonetic changes to the simple uncompounded forms of Homer, and he makes no comparisons with Modern Greek. His conclusion is that the dialect is essentially Ionic with strong Doric influence.

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[1] There is no evidence for Deville's assumption (*Étude du dialecte Tzakonien*, p. 23) that the populations of the Argolid and Lakonia took refuge in the district and founded these villages at the time of the Slav invasions.

[2] Cf. G. Meyer, *Neugriechische Studien*, i. pp. 61, 62. *Sitzungsber. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissensch. in Wien, Philos.-Histor. Classe*, Bd. cxxx.

[3] *Prolegomena ad Homerum* (Venice, 1788), note on pp. 49, 50.

[4] I have gone through all his MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, but failed to find any unpublished notes.

[5] *Researches in Greece* (1814), pp. 196–204; *Travels in the Morea* (1830), ii. pp. 505–508.

[6] *Über die Sprache der Zakonen* (1832).

[7] Thus he writes καμσχὶ (καμdζὶ), πάσχα (πάσ̌α), ζοῦρι (τσούρι), κάρα (κ῾άρα), ἐφύγκε and ἐφύζε (ἐφύνdζε).

Deville[1] gives an excellent historical and topographical introduction with a good map, an etymological study of 374 selected words, an examination of the phonetics and morphology, and six short folk-songs with translations and notes. His material is more complete and accurate than that of Thiersch, but, as Deffner has pointed out, contains many mistakes of accentuation and phonetics; thus, he completely confuses *κ*, *κ*ʿ and *χ*, and reproduces the voiceless dental and labial aspirates by *ττ* and *ππ*. Moreover he always spells his words in accordance with their supposed etymologies and not as they are actually pronounced, explaining the pronunciation somewhat vaguely in notes.[2] He holds in the main the opinion of Thiersch further elaborated: 'Tsakonian is the heir to the Lakonian dialect formerly spoken in the same localities.' This Lakonian he assumes (with Ahrens, ii. 429) to be, like Arkadian and Elean, non-Dorian and of pre-Dorian origin. He supports Herodotus' statement[3] that the Kynourians were autochthonous Ionians, and explains it in the light of Pausanias' statements[4] that the Kynourians were of Argive origin, that the Argives prior to the Dorian invasion spoke the same language as the Athenians and after the Dorian invasion remained, with the Arkadians, the only autochthonous inhabitants of the Peloponnese.[5] He accounts for the survival of the dialect by the wildness of the country and the absence of civilisation. His weak point is phonetics,[6] and he describes many phenomena as survivals, which comparison with modern Greek shows to be new developments.

Oikonomos,[7] a Lenídhi priest, gives a short grammar of the Lenídhi dialect, together with a fairly large vocabulary, a few songs, and a short prose narrative. His work is valueless philologically, but the vocabulary and texts are useful, though the spelling is very misleading.

The newspaper articles of Mariniótis[8] and Nikolésis[9] are very slight and offer no new material, whilst the work of Mullach[1] is taken almost word for word from Thiersch, and that of Moriz Schmidt, although very full and conscientious, is based on the material of Leake, Thiersch and Deville without any personal acquaintance with the dialect, and therefore teems with inevitable mistakes of fact.

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[1] *Etude du dialecte Tzaconien* (Paris, 1866).

[2] Hence for *ἀκʿό* he writes *ἀκκό* (=*ἀσκός*) but for *κʿάρα*, *κχάρα* (=*ἐσχάρα*), for *ἔτʿε*, *ἔττε* (=*ἐστὲ*) but for *ἐθαυμάτʿε*, *ἐθαυμάτθε* (=*ἐθαυμάσθη*).

[3] viii. 73.

[4] iii. 2, ii. 37, v. 1.

[5] In v. 1 Pausanias makes no mention of Argives.

[6] Cf. p. 83, where, with reference to the change *μ*>*ν* before *i* sounds, he remarks 'cela tient sans doute à ce que *μι* et *νι* sont plus faciles à confondre que *μα* et *να*, *μο* et *νο*, *μου* et *νου*.'

[7] **Γραμματικὴ τῆς Τσακωνικῆς διαλέκτου**, Athens, 1870, published in 1846 with the title **Πραγματεία τῆς Λακωνικῆς γλώσσης**.

[8] **Ἐφημερὶς Φιλομαθῶν**, v. No. 232, pp. 249 f., 1857.

[9] *Ibid.* xviii. No. 748, pp. 2182 ff., 1870.

Deffner, the only scholar dealing with the dialect who possessed a really thorough first-hand knowledge, wrote at considerable length: beginning with short newspaper articles on remains of ancient case-formation in Tsakonian,[2] the Tsakonian demonstrative pronouns[3] and the Tsakonian *ρ*,[4] he went on to a fuller and more comprehensive study in his *Archiv*,[5] and began writing a Grammar,[6] of which, unfortunately, only the unfinished first half dealing with Phonology has been published. Unlike all his predecessors Deffner was extremely accurate in his statement of facts, used a clear, phonetic system of spelling and classified the peculiarities of the dialect with great care and detail. But he was more concerned with proving the identity of Tsakonian and ancient Lakonian than with giving an objective account of the dialect, and in consequence gives far too much weight to doubtful etymologies and to philological explanations which are either improbable or entirely untenable, and does not in the least make clear the great similarity that exists in syntax, vocabulary and general structure between Tsakonian and Modern Greek. On the whole, in spite of much wild theorising, Deffner made out a very strong case for Lakonian survivals in certain phonetic features of the dialect. Hatzidakis[7] in various places supports the strongest of Deffner's points, and also argues in favour of a distinction between **ο** and **ω** in Tsakonian.[8]

Deffner's view was further corroborated by Thumb in an article on the place-names of Tsakonia,[9] which dealt very thoroughly with the subject and used all the available sources. Thumb clearly proved that the proportion of Slav names is extremely small, but failed to remark the curious fact that these place-names, apart from terminations and the dropping of λ before back vowels, do not show Tsakonian peculiarities.

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[1] *Grammatik der Griechischen Vulgarsprache* (Berlin, 1856), pp. 94–104.

[2] **Νέα Ἑλλάς,** No. 34, 1874.

[3] *Ibid.* No. 35, 1874. [4] *Ibid.* No. 37, 1874.

[5] *Ibid.* i. 1–54, *Das Zakonische als Fortentwicklung des Laconischen Dialektes erwiesen*, 77–87, *Das Zakonische Verbum und seine Formen.*

[6] *Zakonische Grammatik*, Berlin, 1881.

[7] *Einleitung*, pp. 8 f.; **Μεσαιων. καὶ Νεοελλ.** i. 365 ff., i. 93; *K.Z.* xxxiv. 91 f.

[8] **Μεσαιων. καὶ Νεοελλ.** i. 635; **Γλωσσ. Μελ.** 558–561; **Ἀκαδ. Ἀναγνώσ.** i. 260–2, ii. 461.

[9] *Die ethnographische Stellung der Zakonen*, *Indogerm. Forsch.* iv. 195–213.

Psichári[1] and his pupil Pernot, class Tsakonian with the rest of the Modern Greek dialects, and refuse to admit any Lakonian survival. Pernot[2] deals in detail with some of the phenomena which are regarded as survivals by Deffner and Hatzidakis. Hesseling[3] brings forward a new theory, that Tsakonian is a mixture of Dorian and an Ugro-Altaic language.

§ 4.—PHONOLOGY.[4]

I.—*Vowels.*

a.

One of the most striking features of Tsakonian is its regular retention of the original ā, which was preserved in all the old Greek dialects, except Attic and Ionic, but, apart from possible isolated survivals, gave way before the Attic-Ionic *η* forms in the *Koine* and consequently in the Modern Greek dialects which sprang from it. This *α* is found:—

(*a*) In the fem. sg. of the definite article, *nom. ἁ, acc. τα(ν), gen. τα(ρ).*

(*b*) In noun terminations, *e.g. τσουφάλα* (*κεφαλὴ*), *τσοίτα* (*κοίτη*), *ψι̯ούχα* (*ψυχὴ*), *λίμνα* (*λίμνη*), (*ὁ*) *κρέφτα* (*κλέφτης*), (*ὁ*) *δεργάτα* (*δραγάτης*).

There are rare exceptions, *e.g. ζωή, τύχη, ληστή* (*ληστής*), *πουληκή* (*πωλητής*), but they are never peculiar to Tsakonian,[5] and clearly borrowed from Modern Greek.[6]

(*c*) In terminations of adjectives, demonstrative pronouns, and participles, fem. *nom.* and *acc.* sg. *e.g. κακά* (*κακή*), *čίτα* (*τρίτη* = Tuesday), *τίτενda* (*τετάρτη* = Wednesday), *ἔνdaϊ* (= *αὔτη*), *ἄβα* (*ἄλλη*), *κασιμένα* (*καθημένη*).

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[1] *Études de Phil. Néo-grecque*, pp. xxvii. f. (*Bibliothèque de l'École aes Hautes Études*).

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 52–61; *Revue des Études Grecques*, xviii. 270–276, xxiii. 62–71; *Études de Linguist. Néo-hell.* i. 105 ff., 312 ff., 466 ff.

[3] *De koine en de oude dialekten van Griekenland*, Amsterdam, 1906. I have not seen the article itself, and only know of it from the short notices in the *Revue Critique*, 1906, pp. 396–397, *Revue des Études Grecques*, xxiii. p. 63, note.

[4] The Greek alphabet is here used with the same value as in modern Greek. The special signs employed have their usual phonetic values.

[5] *σεῤ̌ικ'ὴ* (*θεριστὴς* = June) probably owes its termination to the fact that ten of the other eleven months end in *-i*, *e.g. Φλεβάῤ̌ι, Σοτέμžι.*

[6] Modern Greek also has forms in *-α*, *e.g. βελώνα δοῦλα* (cf. Deffner, **Νεοελλ. 'Ανάλ.** i. 7, 437 ff.) but these are probably on the analogy of forms like *μητέρα, μητέρες.* A few scattered forms which may be survivals are given by Hatzidakis, **Μεσαιων. καὶ Νεοέλλ.** i. 479–80.

(*d*) In parts of words other than terminations, *e.g.* *ἁμέρα* (*ἡμέρα*), *σάμερε* (*σήμερον*), *μᾶλι* (*μῆλον*), *μάτη* (*μήτηρ*), *ἁραμοῦ* (*ἡρεμῶ*).

(*e*) In some forms of *-αω* contracted verbs, *e.g.* *ἐγενάμα* (*ἐγεννήθην*), *φτατὲ* (*ψητός*).

Deffner[1] gives also fut. active forms like *θα ὁράου*, but these may have another explanation: cf. § 5, Morphology p. 170.

Note.—In a few words *α* arises from *ε*, *e.g.* *čάχου* (*τρέχω*), *ἁραμοῦ* (*ἡρεμῶ*), *ματανοίου* (*μετανοιῶ*).

e (*ε*, *αι*).

ε regularly as in Modern Greek represents original *ε*, *αι*. It also arises:—

(*a*) From *-ος* and *-ον* terminations of nouns, adjectives, and participles, where these are preceded by a dental, nasal, liquid, sibilant (*σ*, *ζ*) or *i* sound,[2] *e.g.* *κασήμενε*(*ρ*) (*καθήμενος*), *ἄν*d*ε* (*ἄρτος*), *καλέ*(*ρ*) (*καλός*), *καλὲ* (*καλὸν*), *καλύτερε* (*καλύτερος* and *-ον*), *ὄνε* (*ὄνος*), *ἀχρεῖε* (*ἀχρεῖος* *-ον*), *ἕμισε* (*ἥμισυς*), *ὑζέ* (*ὑιὸς*).

This change ceased prior to the dropping of *λ* (*v.* p. 147) before back vowels, hence *καλέ*, etc., not *καέ*.

(*b*) Occasionally from *i* sounds, *e.g.* *δενατέ* (*δυνατός*).

i.

η, *ει*, *οι*, *ι* of Ancient Greek regularly become in Tsakonian, as in Modern Greek, an *i* sound, *e.g.* *μάτη* (*μήτηρ*), *π῾είρου* (*σπείρω*), *ποίου* (*ποιῶ*), *οἱ ἀθρ̌οίποι* (*οἱ ἄνθρωποι*), *θίλε* (*φίλος*), *ἰτ῾ὲ* (*ἰστός*).

There are frequent exceptions, *e.g.* *ἕμισε* (*ἥμισυς*), *χι̯ούρε* (*χοίρον*), and all cases of *η* arising from original *ā*, cf. sub. *α*.

υ is also often represented by an *i* sound, *e.g.* *ὕω* (*ὕδωρ*), *ὑζὲ* (*ὑιὸς*), *θύου* (*θύω*), but these cases are probably borrowings from Modern Greek, *v.* sub. *u*.

-ία regularly corresponds to the Modern Greek termination *-έα*, *ι̯ά*, *e.g.* *νομία*, *φονία*, *μαλία* (*μηλέα*).

ι occasionally arises from *ε*, *e.g.* *τσιχυνόυμενε* (*ξεχυνόμενος*), *τσιμοῦ* (*ξεμῶ*).

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[1] *Grammatik*, p. 22.

[2] This remarkable change can perhaps be paralleled from Skyros, cf. Constantinidis, *Skyros*, pp. 101 ff.

ο (*ο*, *ω*).

The treatment of *ο*, *ω* is difficult. The cases where the *ο* sound regularly remains seem to be:—

(1) In final syllables, after labials and gutturals, where final -*ς*, -*ρ*, or -*ν* has been dropped: *e.g.*, *ἀκ῾ό* (*ἀσκός*), *κακό* (*κακός*, *κακόν*), (λ)*αγώ* (*λαγώς*), *σ̌ομό* (*θερμός*), *κόπο* (*κόπος*), *ὕω* (*ὕδωρ*), for which cf. p. 147.

(2) Where the *ο* sound arises from another vowel: *e.g.* *σ̌όμασι* (*θέρμανσις*), *ροδίθι* (*ρεβίθι*), *στροφονǰία* (*ἀστροφεγγία*), *συγνοθία* (*συννεφία*), *ὁγρέ* (*ὑγρός*).

The cases where *ο*, *ω* regularly become *ου* are given under *u*.

Elsewhere many words retain the *ο* sound: *e.g.* *ὄνε* (*ὄνος*), *ζῶ* (*ζῷον*), *ὁροῦ* (*ὁρῶ*), *ὡράκα*, *πορ̌εῖα* (= road), *βόčε* (*βότρυς*), *βροντὰ* (*βροντὴ*), *νομήα* (*νομεύς*), *κ῾ώακα* (*σκώληξ*), *χωνέṅgου* (*χωνεύω*), but many change to *ου*, perhaps under the influence of neighbouring sounds: *e.g.* *γροῦσσα* (*γλῶσσα*), *οὔρα* (*ὥρα*), *τ῾ούμα* (*στόμα*), *ἐδοῦκα* (*ἔδωκα*), *λουπάϊ* (*λοπάδιον*), *οὔθι* (*ὄφις*), *οὔμελε* (*ὁμαλός*), *σκούνdι* (*σκόρδον*).

According to Hatzidakis,[1] Tsakonian differentiated *ο* and *ω* about the third century A.D., keeping *ο* as an *ο* sound, and changed *ω* to *ου*, *ο* becoming *ου* in some words under the influence of neighbouring labials and gutturals. In view of the examples given above, and of many others which might be given, of *ω*'s which retain the *ο* sound and of *ο*'s which have become *ου*, the evidence for this theory can scarcely be said to be satisfactory. With regard to the date of the change *ο*, *ω* > *ου*, it can only be said that, as Hatzidakis has pointed out, it must be later than the differentiation of *υ* into *ου* and *ι̯ου*; otherwise the *ου* arising from *ο* and *ω* would have been similarly treated.

u (*ου*, *ι̯ου*).

ου arises:—

(1) From final -*ω*, except where final -*ς*, -*ρ*, or -*ν* has been lost (*v.* p. 147): *e.g.* *θα ᾽ράου* (*θα ὁράω*), *τάσου* (*τὰ ἔσω*), *κάτου* (*κάτω*).

(2) From the first *ω* of -*ώνω*, -*ώσκω* verb-forms: *e.g.* *θυτρούνου*

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[1] Γλωσσ. Μελέτ. 558 ff.

(φυτρώνω), ἐθυτρούκα (ἐφύτρωσα), φουσκούνου (φουσκώνω), σαρούκ῾ου (σαρώνω), μαζούκ῾ου (μαζεύω), μαζουτὲ (μαζωτός).

(3) In the participial form which is used in the analytical present and imperfect (*v.* p. 168): *e.g.* ἐμι ὁροῦ (ὁρῶν) = I see; ἐμι ἔχου (ἔχων) = I have. These forms are probably affected by the plural forms, ἐμε ἔχουντε (ἔχοντες) = we have, ἐμε ὁροῦντε (ὁρῶντες) = we see, or by the feminine forms φοροῦα (φοροῦσα), ὡρακοῦα (ἑωρακυῖα).

(4) In the pres. part. middle both of contracted and barytone verbs, *e.g.* ἀκισταινούμενε (ἀπισταινόμενος), ὁρούμενε (ὁρώμενος).

(5) In the noun terminations -ωμα (-ομα), and -ωνα (-ονα, -ονη), *e.g.* τ῾ούμα (στόμα), στροῦμα (στρῶμα), πότσουμα (φόρτωμα), φτεṅgούνα (σφενδόνη).

For the treatment of ο, ω in other cases *v. sub* ο.

(6) ου (ι̯ου after τ, δ, θ, σ, λ, ν) represents in many words an original υ, *e.g.* κούε (κύων), γουναῖκα (γυναῖκα), ἄχουρα (ἄχυρα), βουζί (βυζί), βαθι̯ού (βαθύ), ἐκι̯ού (ἐτύ), κουβάνε (κυάνεος), λι̯ούκο (λύκος), νι̯ούτ῾α, μουνdαλία (μυρταλίς), κουνίνdου (κυνίζω), μούζα (μυῖα), μουνdοῦ (μυζάω), ὄṅgι̯ουμα (ἔνδυμα), ṅgι̯ούκ῾ου (ἐνδύσκω), καοṅgι̯ουτέ (καλὰ ἐνδυτός), σι̯ούκο (σῦκος), σι̯ούρου (σύρω), čούα (δρῦς), νι̯ούμου (ὑμῶν).

There are strong reasons for supposing that Tsakonian has here preserved the original pronunciation of υ as *u* :—

(*a*) The number of cases where ου (ι̯ου) represents an earlier υ is very large, whereas there are comparatively few examples of other *i* sounds (ι, ει, οι, η) pronounced ου.

(*b*) Where ου arises from an *i* sound other than υ a preceding guttural is palatalised, *e.g.* χι̯ούρε (χοῖρος), φτατσούλι (ἑπτακοίλι). This is also true of words like τσούρι (κύριος) = father, γι̯ουρίζου (γυρίζω), which seem to have come into the dialect with an *i* sound, and later to have changed to ου after palatalisation of the κ and γ. In forms like κίτουρα (πίτυρα), λαθούρι (λάθυρος), τούμbανε (τύμπανον), which have their counterparts in Modern Greek, the ου probably also arises from an *i* sound, whereas in βαθι̯ού (βαθύ), βούκι̯ουρε (βούτυρον), ἐκι̯ού, and similar forms, the ι̯ου preserves an old pronunciation.

II.—*Consonants.*

A.—SINGLE CONSONANTS.

(i) Dropped Consonants.

Final -*ν*, as in Modern Greek, is regularly dropped, but retained in such cases as *τον dόπο* (*τὸν τόπον*), *ταν dζέα* (*την τσέλα*).

Final -ς became -*ρ*, which then disappeared except before initial vowels in euphonic combination of article and noun, *e.g.* *τουρ ὄνοι* (*τοὺς ὄνους*), but *του νομήε* (*τοὺς νομεῖς*), and in verbal forms such as *ἔχουντερ ἔμε* (*ἔχομεν*), and by extension *ἔχουρ ἔμι* (*ἔχω*), *ἐζούρ εμι* (*ἐγὼ εἰμί*).

The addition of a final *ε* preserved the *ρ* in the 2nd sg. of verb forms other than the present and imperfect. indic., *e.g.* *θα᾽ράρε* (*θα ὁρᾷς*), *ὡράτσερε* (*ἑωράκες*), *ὡράτ῾ερε* (*ὡράσθης*).

γ and *δ* are frequently dropped between vowels, *e.g.* *ἄϊ* (*λάδι*), *ὕω* (*ὕδωρ*) but gen. *ὑβάτου*, *čού* (*τρώγω*), *ἀχράε* (*ἀχλάδες*), *čάο* (*τράγος*), *μουνdαλία* (*μυρταλίδα*).

β is dropped in *προύατα* (*πρόβατα*).

Final *ρ* is dropped, *e.g.* *μάτη* (*μήτηρ*), pl. *ματέρε*, *σ̌άτη* (*θυγάτηρ*), *ὕω* (*ὕδωρ*).

λ initial, and medial after a vowel, is dropped before *α*, *ο*, *ω*, *ου* in the Lenídhi dialect, *e.g.* *čέρβουλε*, pl. *čέρβα*=shoe, *γά* (*γάλα*), *μάγουα* (*μάγουλα*), *ἀοῦ* (*λαλῶ*) but *ν᾽ ἀλήου* (**νὰ λαλήω*), *ἄογο* (*ἄλογο*), *κὰ* (*καλὰ*), *ἄχανα* (*λάχανα*). *β* appears for *λ* in the three words *ἄβα* (*ἄλλη* and *ἄλλα*), *μάβα* (*μῆλα*) and *κάβα* (*κᾶλα*).

Intervocalic *σ*. It has been argued[1] that *σ* is dropped between vowels in Tsakonian.

(1) In futures such as

θα ᾽ράου, *θα φορέου*, *θα ἀλήου*, *θα θύου*, which are supposed to arise phonetically from **θὰ ὁράσω*, **θὰ φορέσω*, **θὰ λαλήσω*, **θὰ θύσω*.

(2) In the fem. sg. of the pres. part. act. *e.g.* *ὁροῦα*, *βάφα*, which are said to represent earlier *ὁροῦσα*, *βάφουσα*.

(3) In the *αϊ* of the 3rd pl. aor. ind. act. and pass. and the *οϊ* of the 3rd pl. of active futures, *e.g.* *ὡράκαϊ* (*ἑωράκασι*), *ὡράτ῾αϊ* (**ὡράσθασι*), *θα γράψωϊ* (*θὰ γράψωσι*).

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[1] Deffner, *Grammatik*, pp. 47, 125; Deville, *Étude du dial. Tzak.* p. 76.

(4) In the two words cited by Deffner, *τσεραΐ(λ)α*, (**ξηρασίλα*), and *μαραΐ(λ)α* (**μαρασίλα*).[1]

As Pernot has pointed out,[2] the word *ξεραΐλα* is in use in ordinary Modern Greek, and also *καΐλα*, a word of similar formation, so that Deffner's explanation of the words *τσεραΐ(λ)α* and *μαραΐ(λ)α* is very improbable. These supposed cases of loss of intervocalic *σ* are therefore confined to the verb forms mentioned in (1), (2) and (3). Pernot regards them as due to dissimilation. Thus **ὁροῦσα* became *ὁροῦα* on the analogy of the pl. **ὁροῦες* which arose by dissimilation from **ὁροῦσες*:[3] futures such as *θα 'ράου, θα 'ράρε, θα 'ράη, θα 'ρâμε, θα 'ρâτε, θα 'ρâνι,* arose from **θὰ ὁράσω*, **θὰ ὁράσῃς*, etc. because **θὰ ὁράσῃς* 2nd sg., and **θὰ ὁράσωσι* 3rd pl. became *θὰ ὁράῃς* and *θὰ ὁράωσι* by dissimilation and the other forms followed their analogy:[4] **ὡράκασι*, **νὰ ποίωσι*, etc. became *ὡράκαϊ, νὰ ποίωϊ*, etc. on the analogy of cases like **ἐγράψαϊ, να γράψωϊ*, which arose from **ἐγράψασι*, **νὰ γράψωσι* by dissimilation of *σ*.[5]

The fact that these phenomena occur only in particular verb forms is as fatal to Pernot's as to the earlier explanation. There is nothing in Tsakonian like the forms which Pernot quotes from Chios:[6] *ὁ Πυρκούης, τοῦ Πυρκούση, οἱ Πυρκοῦσοι*, and *πόες* (= *πόσες*), but *πόσο, πόση*. There are also three further objections to the dissimilation theory: (1) All the forms in which the dissimilation is supposed to have occurred are with one exception hypothetical and may never have existed: thus the fem. pl. of the pres. part. is *ὁροῦν*d*ε(ρ)*, like the masc., not *ὁρούες*, nor, as the plural, *e.g.* of *γροῦσσα* (*γλῶσσα*) is *γρούσσε*, is there any evidence for an -*ες* pl. of such words in Tsakonian; the 2nd sgg. of fut. and subj. forms are, *e.g. θα 'ράρε, θα ποίερε*, not *θα 'ράης, θα ποίης*, and the 3rd pl. forms are *θα 'ράνι, θα ποίωϊ*, not *θα 'ράωσι, θα ποίωσι*; no such 3rd pl. aor. as *ἐγράψαϊ* exists in Tsakonian, the form used being *ἐγράβαϊ*; the one exception is futures like *θα γράψωϊ, θα κ῾ράτσωϊ*, from *γράφου* and *κ῾ράν*d*ου* (= *σκάζω*), which do occur.

(2) In all the analogies assumed, it is always a small number of cases which causes analogous changes in a much larger number, instead of the larger number affecting the smaller, which is what one would naturally expect, and what does in fact happen in all well-established cases of analogy.

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[1] *Grammatik*, p. 125.

[2] *Revue des Études Grecques*, xviii. p. 271.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 276.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 272.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 273.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 259.

(3) In the one case, where if anywhere dissimilation of *σ* would inevitably have occurred, the future and subj. forms of -*ζω* verbs, it does not take place. Thus the future of *γι̭ουρίζου* is *θα γι̭ουρίσου*, *θα γι̭ουρίσερε*, *θα γι̭ουρίση̨*, *θα γι̭ουρίσουμε*, *θα γι̭ουρίσετε*, *θα γι̭ουρίσωϊ*, and the futures of *νυρίζου* (*μυρίζω*), *κ῾ρίζου* (= *πλύνω*), *θαυμάζου* are similarly formed.

It remains then to find other explanations of these forms.

(1) Fut. and subj. forms, *θα ̓ράου*, *θα φορέου*. The explanation of these forms lies in the general development of the verb system. The Tsakonian verbs fall under two types:

(*a*) verbs with -*κα* aorists and non-sigmatic futures,

(*b*) verbs with -*α* aorists and sigmatic futures.

The process of development of the first type is easy to follow. The verbs are all of the classes which had -*κα* perfects in classical Greek, *i.e.* verbs with vowel stems, 'contracted' verbs, and verbs in -*νω*, -*ρω*. The verbs in -*νω*, -*ρω* would naturally have a non-sigmatic future corresponding to the old non-sigmatic aorists, *e.g.* *μαραίνου*, *θα μαράνου*, *ἐμαράṅga*, *π῾είρου* (*σπείρω*), *θα π῾είρου*, *ἐπ῾είρκα*, *ἀρ̌ήκ῾ου* (*αἴρω*), *θα ἄρου*, *ἄṅga* (**ἄρκα*). *θα θύου*, the fut. of *θύου*, shows a present subj. form, and has a -*κα* aor., *ἐθύκα*. *θα ̓ράου*, the fut. of *ὁροῦ* (*ὁράω*), in view of Modern Greek 'uncontracted' present forms like *γελάω*, *γελᾷς*, *γελάει*, may well be regarded as a present subjunctive form, and the aor. is in -*κα*, *ὡράκα*. From all these classes, together with such verbs as *κίνου* (*πίνου*), *θα κίου*, *ἐṅgίκα*, arose the type of aorists in -*κα* with corresponding non-sigmatic futures, which by proportional analogy created such paradigms as

φοροῦ	*θα φορέου*	*ἐφορέκα*	(*φορῶ*)
τσιμοῦ	*θα τσιμήου*	*ἐτσιμήκα*	(*ξεμῶ*)
νέσου	*θα νέου*	*ἐνέκα*	(*γνέθω*).

The dialect did not object to present forms in the future, because the old present indicative disappeared before the new analytical form (*v.* p. 168), and to express the 'incomplete future' in verbs with vowel stems, 'contracted' verbs, and verbs in -*ρω*, it used a -*νω* present form, *e.g.* *θύου θα θύνου* (= M.G. *θα σφάζω*), *π῾είρου θα π῾είρνου*, *ποίου θα ποίνου*, *ὁροῦ θα ̓ρ̌ίνου*, *φοροῦ θα φορ̌ίνου*.

(2) Fem. sg. pres. part., *ὁροῦα*, etc.

Tsakonian has also an aorist part. *e.g.* *ὡρακοῦ*, which is declined exactly like *ὁροῦ*.

In view of the accentuation, this seems to have its origin in the old perfect part. **ἑωρακ-ώς -υῖα -ός*. The two sets of terminations have been contaminated, and the perfect ending *-οῦα* (*-υῖα*) has prevailed in the fem. sg.

(3) *-αϊ, -οϊ* 3rd pl. endings of the verb, *e.g.* aor. act. *ὡράκαϊ, ἐγράβαϊ* aor. pass. *ὡράτʽαῗ, ἐγράφταϊ* fut. act. *θα γράψωϊ*.

In the fut. act. of *-άω* verbs, and in the fut. pass. of all verbs the 3rd pl. is in *-νι*, *e.g.* *θα ʼράνι, θα ʼρατʽοῦνι, θα γραφτοῦνι*. From this it appears that at some time the *-ν* of the imperfect and aor. spread to all 3rd plurals in Tsakonian as generally in Modern Greek.

At this stage the forms would be *ὡράκαν, ἐγράβαν, ὡράτʽαν, ἐγράφταν θα γράφων, θα ʼράν, θα ʼρατʽούν, θα γραφτούν*.

The final *-ι* is probably due to the influence of *εἴνι* and *ἤṅgι*, the 3rd pl. pres. and impft. of *ἔμι* (*εἰμὶ*), and the retention of *ν* in *θα ʼράνι, θα ʼρατʽούνι* and *θα γραφτοῦνι* is owing to the position of the accent.

The disappearance of intervocalic *σ* is therefore in all three cases due to morphological, not to phonetic causes.

(ii) Change of Consonants.

π becomes *κ* before i sounds, *e.g.* *κεινοῦ* (*πεινῶ*), *κίνου* (*πίνου*), *κηγάδι* (*πηγάδι*), *κι̯άνου* (*πιάνω*), *ἀκισταινούμενε* (*ἀπισταινόμενος*), *κίσου* (*ὀπίσω*).

There are many exceptions due probably to the influence of Modern Greek, *e.g.* *ποῖε(ρ)* (*ποῖος*) *ποίου* (*ποιῶ*), *σουπία* (*σουπι̯ά*).

At Kastanitsa and Sitena this change only occurs in *κι̯άνου*.

τ becomes *κ* before *i* sounds, *e.g.* *κιμοῦ* (*τιμῶ*), *κυλίγου* (*τυλίγω*), *κυφλέ* (*τυφλός*), *κουκί* (*κουτί*), *φκία* (*φωτι̯ά*), *φκι̯άνου* (*φτι̯άνω*), *χκίζου* (*χτίζω*), *πρακι̯οὺ* (*πλατύ*), *ἐκιού* (*ἐτύ*).

Exceptions are numerous, *e.g.* *πρωτεῖε* (*πρῶτος*), *πρατεῖε* (*πλατύς*), *ἔτηνερ̌ί*[1] (*ἐκεῖνος*), *ἀλοιώτικο* (*ἀλλοιωτικός*).

Apparently *τʽ* remained before *i* sounds, but became *κʽ* before *ι̯α, ι̯ου*, hence *δάτʽυλε* (*δάκτυλος*), but *κʽι̯αού(λ)α* (*σταγών*), *κʽι̯ούλε* (*στῦλος*).

Both these changes, *π>κ, τ>κ*, are clearly later than the change *κ>τσ* before *e* and *i* sounds.

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[1] *v.* p. 164.

κ becomes *τσ* before *e* and *i* sounds, *e.g.* *baμbάτσι* (*μπαμπάκι*), *τσοίτα* (*κοίτη*), *ἐζάτσερε* (*ἐπῆγες*), but 1st sg. *ἐζάκα*, *τσαιρέ* (*καιρός*), *τσε* (*καί*), *τσέ*(λ)*α* (It. cella = house), *γουναιτσί* (gen. of *γουναῖκα*).

There is, so far as I know, no exception to this rule, except the *κ* which arises from *π* and *τ*.

φ becomes *θ*, *β* becomes *δ* before *i* sounds, *e.g.* *θυτρούνου* (*φυτρόνω*), *οὔθι* (*ὄφις*), *θίλε* (*φίλος*), *δήχο* (*βηξ*, *βηχός*), *σκαδία* (*σκλαβία*), *ροδίθι* (*ρεβίθι*, A.G. *ἐρέβινθος*).

There are many exceptions to the change *φ*<*θ*, and the change *β*>*δ* is only found in the three examples given.

At Kastanitza and Sitena *φ* is kept, except in *νύθη* (*νύμφη*), *οὔθι* (*ὄφις*) and *čαθία* (*ρ̊αφίς*), and *β* remains unchanged.

μ becomes *ν* before *i* sounds. This change does not occur at Kastanitsa and Sitena. Examples are :—*νία* (*μία*), *ἐνεῖ* (*ἐμεῖς*), *νοιρόγι* (*μοιρολόγι*), *νυρίζου* (*μυρίζω*), *νυγδαλία* (*ἀμυγδαλι̯ά*), *ἀγρίνι* (*ἀγρίμι*), *ἀζηνίουτε* (*ἀζημιωτός*), *ἀνίλητε* (*ἀμιλητός*). Exceptions are very rare, the most noticeable being *μι* (= *μου*, *με*) as opposed to the accented form *ἐνίου*. The *μ* probably remained because *μι* is unaccented and the *ι* is always elided before vowels, *e.g.* *μ᾽ ὡράτσε*, he saw me.

ρ

The treatment of *ρ* in Tsakonian is as follows :—

(*a*) When medial and not before an *i* sound or preceded by a *τ* or *δ*, it remains, as in Modern Greek, a pure trilled *r*, *e.g.* *ὡράκα*, *θα φορέου πρώκι̯ου* (*πρῶτον*).

(*b*) When medial before an *i* sound or *ι̯ου* arising from *υ*, and not preceded by *τ* or *δ*, it becomes something very similar to a Czechish *r*, often sounding like *ζ*, and the following *i*, if unaccented and followed by another vowel, disappears, *e.g.* *μου*(λ)*άρ̌α* (*μουλάρια*), *ἔρ̌α* (*ἔρια* = fleeces), *κρ̌άδα* (*κρυάδα*), *κρ̌ίε* (*κρέας*), *κ῾ρ̌ίζου* (*χρίζω*), *κάρ̌ου* (*κάρυον*).

(*c*) Initial in a few words, and more frequently after *τ*, *θ* or *δ*, it becomes *σ̌*, ž, *e.g.*, *σ̌ίν*d*a* (*ρ̊ίζα*), *σ̌ίνα* = mountain (? from *ρ̊ίς*, nose), *σ̌ούκ῾ο* (*ρ̊ύγχος*), *σ̌έου* (*ρ̊έω*), *σ̌άφου* (*ράφτω*), *čού* (*τρώγω*), *čίχα* (*τρίχα*), *čίτα* (*τρίτη*), *βόčε* (*βότρυς*), *čάχου* (*τρέχω*), *čούα* (*δρῦς*), *ač̀ε* (*ἁδρὸς*), *ἔραčε* (*ἄροτρον*). A preceding *θ* is generally dropped, *e.g.*, *σ̌ίνακα* (*θρίναξ*), *σ̌όμασι* (**θρόμασις*,[1] from **θόρμασι, θέρμανσις*), *δέρσ̌ε* (*δέρεθρον*), *σ̌έφου* (*θρέφω*).

στρ becomes *σ̌*, probably through the stages, *στσ̌—σσ̌*, *e.g.* *ασ̌ι* (*ἄστρι*).

θ becomes *σ* in a few words:—*σάτη*, *σ̌άτη* (*θυγάτηρ*), *σέρ̌ι* (*θέρος*), *σερ̌ικ῾ή* (*θεριστής*), *σερ̌ίν*d*ου* (*θερίζω*), *σηλίν*d*ου* (*θηλάζω*), *σηλυκό* (*θηλυκός*), *νέσου* (*γνέθω*), *ἀλέσου* (*ἀλέθω*), perhaps *δαίσου* (**δαίθω*), *λένισα* (*ἕλμινθα*), *κρ̌ίσα* (*κριθή*), *κασήμενε* (*καθήμενος*), and Deffner[2] also gives *σ̌ομό* (*θερμός*), *σ̌όμασι* (*θέρμανσις*), and *σ̌ονίχου* (*θερμίζω*), but the explanation given under the change *ρ* > *σ̌* is more probable.

Pernot[3] explains *νέσου, ἀλέσου, δαίσου* as being reformed from the aorist, *κρ̌ίσα* and *λένισα* as due to forms *κρ̌ισί* and *λενίσι*, and decides that *θ* became *σ* in Tsakonian only before *i* and *e*. The forms *κρ̌ισί* and *λενίσι* are purely hypothetical; the Modern Greek forms of *νέσου* and *ἀλέσου* are *γνέθω* and *ἀλέθω*; the Tsakonian aorists are *ἐνέκα, ἀλέκα, ἐδάκα*; and there are no other examples in Tsakonian of presents reformed on sigmatic aorists. Pernot's explanation is therefore very improbable. The small number of these words makes it unlikely that the change *θ* > *σ* was ever a regular law of the dialect, and the only explanation is that at the time when Laconian used *σ* for *θ*, a number of such words spread to the Tsakonian district, and have since become reduced under the influence of Modern Greek to the few given above. The examples of *σ* for *θ* from Symi and Ikaria quoted by Pernot[4] do not affect the question of *σ* for *θ* in Tsakonian.

B.—COMBINATIONS OF CONSONANTS.

τ῾ arises, probably through the stage *ττ*:—

(*a*) From *στ*, *e.g.* *τ῾αν* dζέ(λ)*α* (**εἰς ταν τζέλαν* = to the house), *ἀνατ῾αίνου* (*ἀνασταίνω*), *τ῾οῦμα* (*στόμα*),

(*b*) From *σθ*, *e.g.* *ὡράτ῾ερε* (**ὡράσθης*) 2nd sg. aor. pass.,

(*c*) From *κτ*, *e.g.* *δάτ῾υλε* (*δάκτυλος*), *νι̯ούτ῾α* (*νύκτα*), *ζαλετ῾έ*, past part. pass. of *ζαλέχου* (*διαλέγω*),

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[1] A similar explanation is given by Hatzidakis, *K.Z.* xxxiv. 103–104.

[2] *Grammatik*, p. 46.

[3] *Phonétique de Chio*, p. 313.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 313, 314.

(*d*) From χθ, *e.g.* θα δετʽού (θα δεχθῶ).

κʽ arises, probably through κκ,

(*a*) From σκ, *e.g.* ἀκʽό (ἀσκός), κʽώακα (σκώληξ), διπρούκʽου (διπλώνω), and many other verbs in κʽου (-σκω), φουκʽα (φύσκη),

(*b*) From σχ, *e.g.*, κʽάρα (ἐσχάρα), μόκʽο (μόσχος), ἴκʽου (ἴσχω),

(*c*) From γχ in σ̌ούκʽο (ῥύγχος).

πʽ arises, probably through ππ,

(*a*) From σπ, *e.g.* πʽείρου (σπείρω), ἑπʽέρι (ἑσπέρα) = yesterday πʽόνdύ̇λε (σπόνδυλος),

(*b*) From μπ in ἀπʽού (ἀμπῶς = ἄν πως), and perhaps in πʽουρτέσε (ἔμπροσθεν),

(*c*) From μφ in ὄπʽακα (ὄμφαξ) and ἀπʽαλέ (ομφαλός).

In a few words τ, π, and κ are aspirated especially at the beginning of words, *e.g.* κρεβάτʽα (κρεββάτι), κʽαμbαίνου (καταβαίνω), κʽίσσα (πίσσα), πʽοί (ποῦ), πʽού (πῶς), πʽουνdζίζου (πέρδω), κʽομbό (κόμβος).

ζ becomes νd. In many words, especially verbs in -ζω, ζ has become ν̇d, probably through the stages zd, dd, nd, *e.g.* σ̌ίνdα (ῥίζα), χένdου (χέζω), μουνdοῦ (μυζάω), σεῤίνdου (θερίζω), κουνίνdου (κυνίζω) = I seek, δρανίνdου (*δραμίζω, cf. ἔδραμον), ἀνοίνdου (ἀνοίγω).

βγ becomes ṅg, probably through gg, *e.g.* ῥεṅgούμενε (ῥευγόμενος), ζεṅgου (ζεύγω), δουλέṅgου (δουλεύ(γ)ω), σαλέṅgου (σαλεύω), νηστέṅgου (νηστεύω), ζωνdανέṅgου (ζωντανεύω), and all other -εύω presents.

ρτ, ρδ become νd in a few words:—ἄνdε (ἄρτος), χονdαίκʽου (χορταίνω), τίτενdα (τετάρτη = Wednesday), σκούνdι (σκόρδον), χόνdι (χόρτον), μουνdαλία (μυρταλίς), ἀχόνdαγο (ἀχόρταγος), πʽάνdι (σπάρτον).

This is clearly later than the change νd > ṅg before *i* sounds, hence χόνdι not χόṅgι.

νd becomes ṅg before ι, ι̯ου sounds, *e.g.* ἀṅgιβάτα (ἀντιβάτης), ἀφέṅgη (father, αὐθεντὴς), ἐṅgι (*ἔντι, neuter of ἔνdερι, dem. pron.), καṅgήλι (κανδήλι), κροṅgήρι (κροντήρι), ṅgι̯ούκʽου (ἐνδύω), ὄṅgι̯ουμα (ἔνδυμα).

ρκ, ρχ become ṅg in a few words:—ἄṅgα (*ἄρκα, aor. of ἀῤίκʽου = M.G. παίρνω), ἐṅgατέ (ἔρκατος) = hedge, ἐσούṅgα (*ἔσυρκα), aor. of σούρου (σύρω), ἔṅgου (cf. ἔρχομαι).

This change is earlier than the change ṅg > ṅdζ before *i* and *e* sounds, hence ἄνdzε, 3rd sg. of ἄṅgα.

μb become ṅg before *i* sounds, *e.g.* κουṅgί (κουμβί), ṅgήχου (ἐμπήγω), κʽουṅgίχου (ἀκουμβῶ), ἐṅgίκα aor. of κίνου (πίνω).

This change is clearly later than the change ṅg > νdζ before *i* and *e* sounds.

ṅg becomes νdζ before *i* and *e* sounds, *e.g.* ἀνdζίχου (ἐγγίζω, M.G. ἀγγίζω), στρονdζυλέ (στρογγυλός), στρανdζίχου (στραγγίζω), ἄνdζε 3rd sg. of ἄṅgα, aor. of ἀρ̌ίκʽου (παίρνω), ἔndζε (imperat. 2nd sg. of ἔṅgου (ἔρχων = ἐρχόμενος).

This change is clearly later than the change ρκ, ρχ > ṅg, and earlier than the changes μb > ṅg before *i* sounds, νd > ṅg before *i*, ι̯ου sounds.

γβ(κβ) becomes μb in the verbs μbάνου (ἐκβάλλω, M.G. βγάζω), μbαΐνου (ἐκβαίνω, M.G. βγαίνω). The intermediate stage was probably ββ.

κλ, γλ, πλ, χλ, become respectively κρ, γρ, πρ, χρ in a few words:—γροῦσσα (γλῶσσα), κρέφτα (κλέφτης), κρᾶμα (κλῆμα), πρακι̯ού (πλατύ), πράσσου (πλάττω), πρέου (πλέω), ἀχράε (ἀχλάδες).

In many words ξ has become τσ, *e.g.* τάτσου (τὰ ἔξω), τσιχυνούμενε (ξεχυνόμενος).

The phonetic features of Tsakonian, which have been tabulated above, may be roughly classified under three heads, according as they are (*a*) entirely peculiar to Tsakonian, (*b*) common to Tsakonian and one or more Modern Greek dialects, (*c*) common to Tsakonian and ancient Lakonian or the ancient Doric group of dialects. This classification is not exhaustive, but it is convenient as indicating to some extent the position which the dialect holds in the history of the Greek language.

(*a*) *Phenomena entirely peculiar to Tsakonian.*

Under this head fall the following changes: π > κ before *i* sounds, τ > κ before *i* sounds, φ > θ before *i* sounds, β > δ before *i* sounds, ρ > σ̌ under certain conditions (*v. sub* ρ (*c*)), ρτ, ρδ > νd, βγ > ṅg, νd > ṅg before *i*, ι̯ου sounds, ρκ, ρχ > ṅg, μb > ṅg before *i* sounds, γβ > μb, ξ > τσ.

Besides these there are the aspirates τʽ, arising from στ, σθ, κτ, etc., κ arising from σκ, σχ, γχ, and πʽ arising from σπ, σφ, μφ, to which the nearest parallels are the double consonants ττ, ππ, etc., produced also by assimilation, in various Modern Greek dialects, notably in those of South Italy. It seems not unreasonable to see in these forms a further development of the tendency shewn by Lakonian forms such as ἀκκόρ (ἀσκός), αἰκχούνα (αἰσχύνη), ἄττασι (ἀνάσταθι). The forms at Symi spelt with ττ,[1] *e.g.* ἄττητος (ἀναίσθητος) and the 1 pl. pass. in -εττε for -εστε, εἴμεττε, etc., are pronounced with the aspirate τ῾, just as in Tsakonian.

(*b*) *Phenomena common to Tsakonian and one or more Modern Greek dialects.*

κ > τσ, ṅg > νδζ before *e*, *i* sounds. The same or similar changes occur in many places, *e.g.* Aegina, the Cyclades, Chios, Crete, South Italy.

The dropping of λ is also recorded from Samothrace and Pharasa in Cappadocia. On Samothrace[2] apparently λ disappeared before back vowels, *e.g.* ἄογο (ἄλογον), θέω (θέλω), γιάσκαο (διδάσκαλον), καό (καλό), and became *y* (consonant ι̯) before front vowels, *e g.* γιτιϋγήσουμ (λιτουργήσωμεν), γήγιος (ἥλιος), οὔγοι (ὅλοι). Examples of the treatment of λ at Pharasa,[3] where it is also occasionally changed to β or γ, are ἀγώς (λαγώς), ψεγό (ὑψηλός), ἄβο (ἄλλος), ἄβγο (ἄλογον), κά (καλά).

The final -ε after dentals and liquids instead of -ος, -ον in Tsakonian may be compared with the tendency in many Modern Greek dialects to change *o* to *e* under the influence of a dental or liquid. Examples of this are collected by Pernot.[4] An -ε in the final of some -ος words is also recorded from Skyros.[5]

The change of ο, ω to ου exists, in varying degrees and under various conditions, everywhere in Modern Greek.

The change of *i* sounds (ι, η, ει, οι, υ) to ου under the influence of neighbouring sounds is also universal, although in some places, *e.g.* Aegina,[6] in the case of ου arising from υ and οι the pronunciation is considered to have been *ü* earlier and never *i*.

(*c*) *Phenomena common to Tsakonian and Lakonian or the Doric group of dialects.*

The retention of original *ā*, common to all the old non-Attic-Ionic dialects, is one of the best preserved survivals in Tsakonian, and, as it admits of no other possible explanation except that of survival from the old dialects, at once makes Tsakonian a likely field for other ancient peculiarities.

Retention of υ with the pronunciation ου, ι̯ου. It has already been seen that the dialect has a large number of words with *υ* pronounced as *ου* or *ι̯ου*, forming a separate class from other words in which the *ου* sound arises by modern change from an *ι* sound (*ι*, *ει*, *οι*, *η*, *υ*), and that in these words the *ου*, *ι̯ου* sound must have existed continuously from pre-*Koine* times. There is some evidence from inscriptions and from Hesychius[1] that Lakonian kept the original pronunciation of *υ*.

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[1] Σύλλογος, 1873–4, p. 467.

[2] Conze, *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres*, p. 53 note and p. 54.

[3] Karolidis, Γλωσσαρ. Ἑλληνοκαππ. λεξ. p. 111.

[4] *Phonétique de Chio*, pp. 138 ff.

[5] Constantinidis, *Skyros*, pp. 151 ff.

[6] Ἀθηνᾶ, 1891, pp. 101 ff.

The Tsakonian final -*ρ*, instead of final -*ς*, which is dropped except in certain phonetic combinations before initial vowels, has no parallel in Modern Greek. In Ancient Greek it is a strongly marked feature of the Lakonian and Elean dialects,[2] and also appears in the Eretrian form *ὅπωρ ἄν*=*ὅπως ἄν*. Tsakonian probably inherits its forms from Lakonian.

Lakonian alone of the ancient dialects changed *θ* to *σ*. There is ample evidence of this in ancient inscriptions, in authors such as Thucydides and Aristophanes, and in Hesychius. Some of these *σ* forms seem to have spread to the Tsakonian district and a few still survive.

In Tsakonian *ν*d frequently represents *ζ* especially in -*ζω* verbs. This peculiarity is not found elsewhere in Modern Greek, and falls very well into line as a further development of the Lakonian *δδ* forms which appear in inscriptions, in the texts of Aristophanes and Plutarch, and in Hesychius.

The probable Lakonian origin of Tsakonian *τ῾*, *π῾*, *κ῾*, forms has already been discussed under (*a*).

From this classification it appears that Tsakonian has a large body of phenomena entirely peculiar to itself, a small number of phonetic changes which appear also in Modern Greek dialects, and a large number which connect it with the pre-*Koine* phase of Greek, more especially with Lakonian. In fact phonetically it is much more closely related to Lakonian than to any other dialect ancient or modern. At the same time it does not seem to have adopted universally all Lakonian peculiarities,[3] and the probability seems to be that in the first centuries of our era a sort of Lakonian *Koine*, with some local peculiarities, was spoken in the Tsakonian area, that the special Tsakonian features, noted under (*a*), developed more especially during the period of isolation caused by Slav and later by Albanian settlements in the surrounding districts, and that the dialect has been for some centuries now coming more and more under the influence of the ordinary language, which accounts for the enormous number of exceptions to practically every sound law which can be stated for it.

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[1] Cf. Thumb, *Handbuch der Griechischen Dialekte*, p. 85.

[2] Thumb, *op. cit.* pp. 89, 175.

[3] The small number of examples of *σ* for *θ* points to this.

§ 5.—MORPHOLOGY.

The Article.

The definite article is declined thus :—

	Sg.				*Pl.*	
	M.	F.	N.		M. F.	N.
N.	ὁ	ἁ	το	N.	οἱ	τα
A.	τον	τα(ν) ταvι	το	A. G.	του(ρ) τοι(ρ)	τα
G.	του	τα(ρ) ταρι	του			

The points of difference from Modern Greek are α for η in the fem. sg., the loss of the separate gen. pl. form, the confusion of the masc. and fem. acc. and gen. pl. forms, the -ρ termination of the fem. gen. sg. and masc. and fem. acc. and gen. pl. forms,[1] and the -ι termination sometimes used in the fem. acc. and gen. sg. The τοι(ρ) form in the plurals which is peculiar to Kastánitsa aud Sítena is probably due to the -οι termination of the -ος noun acc. pl. : *e.g.* τουρ αθρ̌ήποι became τοιρ αθρ̌ήποι.

The indefinite article, as in Modern Greek, is identical with the numeral 'one,' thus :—masc. nom. and gen. ἕνα, acc. ἕνα(ν), fem. nom. and gen. νία,[2] acc. νία(ν), neuter nom. acc. gen. ἕνα.

The Noun.

The noun is declined as follows :—

Masculines.

(*a*) -ος terminations.

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(ὄνος)	N. Acc.	ὄνε	ὄνοι ὄνου[3]
	Gen.	ὄνου	

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[1] Cf. Phonology.

[2] Kastánitsa and Sítena, μία, etc.

[3] Not used at Kastánitsa and Sítena.

Masculines.

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(*κῆπος*)	N. Acc.	*τσήπο*	*τσήποι*
	Gen.	*τσήπου*	*τσήπου*[1]
(*ἄνθρωπος*)	N. Acc.	*ἄθρωπο*	*ἀθρ̌ίποι*
	Gen.	*ἀθρούπου*	*ἀθρούπου*[1]

(*b*) -*ας* -*ης* terminations.

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(*κλέφτης*)	N. Acc. Gen.	*κρέφτα*	*κρέφτοι*

The -*οι* termination of the plural is borrowed from -*ος* nouns.

(*c*) Old 3rd decl. nouns reformed as in Modern Greek from the acc. sg.

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(*νομεύς*)	N. Acc. Gen.	*νομήα*	*νομήε*
(*ποῦς*)	,, ,, ,,	*πούα*	*πούε*
(*ὀδούς*)	,, ,, ,,	*ὄνdα*	*ὄνdου*

ὄνdου borrows its termination from the -*ος* declension.

κούε (*κύων*) has in the gen. sg. *κουνέ*, in the plural *κούνοι* or *κούνου*. *κουνέ* arises phonetically from the old gen. *κυνός*.[2] The other forms are due to the -*ος* declension.

μήνα (*μήν*) has gen. sg. *μηνέ* (*μηνός*), and its plural is *μήνοι*.

(*d*) Imparisyllabics.

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(*ψωμάς*)	N. Acc. Gen.	*ψωμά*	*ψωμάδε*
(*παπάς*)	,, ,, ,,	*παπά*	*παπάδε*
(*ψαράς*)	,, ,, ,,	*ψαρά*	*ψαράδε*

Feminines.

(*a*) In -*α*.

Many are of the type :—

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(*πορεῖα*)	N. Acc. Gen.	*πορεία*	*πορείαι*

The commonest type is :—

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(*γλῶσσα*)	N. Acc.	*γρούσσα*	*γρούσσαι*
	Gen.	*γρουσσέ*	

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[1] Not used at Kastánitsa and Sítena.

[2] Cf. Phonology, p. 144.

The *έ* genitive, in view of the accent, must be borrowed from such old 3rd decl. words as

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(*νύξ*)	N. Acc.	*νι̯ούτʽα* (*νύκτα*)	*νι̯ούτʽε* (*νύκτες*)
	Gen.	*νι̯ουτʽέ* (*νυκτός*)	

The majority of these latter, however, have genitives in -*ί*. They are :—

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(*μήτηρ*)	N. Acc.	*μάτη*	*ματέρε*
	Gen.	*ματερ̌ί* *μάτη*	
(*θυγάτηρ*)	N. Acc.	*σ̌άτη*	*σ̌ατέρε*
	Gen.	*σ̌ατερ̌ί* *σ̌άτη*	
(*γυνή*)	N. Acc.	*γουναίκα*	*γουναίτσε*
	Gen.	*γουναιτσί*	
(*χείρ*)	N. Acc.	*χέρα*	*χέρε*
	Gen.	*χερ̌ί*	
(*θρίξ*)	N. Acc.	*čίχα*	*čίχε*
	Gen.	*čιχί*	

The -*ί* genitive in these words is curious. From *νι̯ουτʽέ*, *γρουσσέ*, etc., it appears that there must have been earlier forms *ματερέ*, *σ̌ατερέ*, etc. Possibly the -*ί* arose in *ματερ̌ί*, *σ̌ατερ̌ί*, from the final syllable of *μάτη*, *σ̌άτη*, which are also sometimes used as genitives, and the diminutive *ματέρι* may have helped. *γουναιτσί* may have arisen from the similarity of meaning, as also *κοπελί*, the genitive of *κοπέ*(*λ*)*α* = girl, and *χερ̌ί*, *ἁμερ̌ί* (gen. of *ἁμέρα*), by analogy of form. Neither of these explanations covers *čιχί* and *τσουφαλί* (gen. of *τσουφά*, *τσουφάλα*), and it is always possible that these cases are survivals from a much larger body of genitives in -*ί*, which would throw light upon the origin of the forms, and that the rest have given way before the -*έ* genitive, which is the commonest type.

Deville[1] explains the -*ί* genitive as an Ionic form, the -*έ* gen. as developed from old uncontracted forms in -*άερ*, comparing Latin genitives in -ae. Deffner[2] suggested that the -*ί* genitive arose phonetically from

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Étude, pp. 99 f.

[2] **Νέα Ἑλλάς**, No. 34, 1874.

o through *u*, adducing the Latin -is (patros > patrus > patris), and that the -*έ* genitive was an old locative form like *χαμαί*. These explanations are in themselves improbable and do not fit the facts.

Hatzidakis[1] explains the -*ί* genitives as formed by analogy from *ἀλί*, the gen. fem. of *ἄλλε* (*ἄλλος*), which for some reason he spells *ἀλλη͜ί*, seemingly taking it as parallel to the M. Gr. form *ἀλλῆς*. This is no explanation at all, as all other pronouns have an entirely different feminine genitive, so that it is more reasonable to regard the -*ί* of *ἀλί* as derived from the -*ί* genitive of the feminine noun declension, a possible origin for which has been suggested above.

(*b*) Imparisyllabics.

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(*ἀχράς*)	N. Acc. Gen.	*ἀχρά*	*ἀχράε* (*ἀχράδες*)
(*ἰσχάς*)	N. Acc. Gen.	*ἀσκά*	*ἀσκάε*

Neuters.

(*a*) Old 2nd declension.

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(*ἄλογον*)	N. Acc.	*ἄ(λ)ογο*	*ἄ(λ)ογα*
	Gen.	*ἀ(λ)όγου*	
(*σῦκον*)	N. Acc.	*σι̯ούκο*	*σι̯ούκα*
	Gen.	*σι̯ούκου*	
(*λάχανον*)	N. Acc.	(*λ*)*άχανε*	(*λ*)*άχανα*
	Gen.	(*λ*)*αχάνου*	

(*b*) Diminutives in -*ι* (-*ιον*).

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(*μῆλον*)	N. Acc.	*μάλι*	*μάβα*
	Gen.	*μαλίου*	
(*κᾶλον*)	N. Acc.	*κάλι*	*κάβα*
	Gen.	*καλίου*	
(M.G. *λάδι*)	N. Acc.	*ἄϊ*	*ἄζα*
	Gen.	*ἀΐου*	
(= boy)	N. Acc.	*καμdζί*	*καμdζία*
	Gen.	*καμdζίου*	

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[1] *Einleitung*, p. 231.

(*c*) Old 3rd declension words.

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(πῶμα)	N. Acc.	πούμα	πούματα
	Gen.	πουμάτου	
(κρέας)	N. Acc.	κρ̌ίε	κρ̌ίατα
	Gen.	κρ̌ιάτου	
(ὕδωρ)	N. Acc.	ὕω	ὕβατα
	Gen.	ὑβάτου	

The Adjective.

(*a*) The old *-ος -η -ον* declension.

		Sg. M.	*Sg.* F.	*Sg.* N.
(ρ̌ηχός = shallow)	N. Acc.	ρ̌ηχό	ρ̌ηχά	ρ̌ηχό
	Gen.	ρ̌ηχού	ρ̌ηχά	ρ̌ηχό

	Pl. M.	*Pl.* F.	*Pl.* N.
N. Acc. Gen.	ρ̌ηχοί	ρ̌ηχαί	ρ̌ηχά

		Sg. M.	*Sg.* F.	*Sg.* N.
(γυμνός)	N. Acc.	γυμνέ	γυμνά	γυμνέ
	Gen.	γυμνού	γυμνά	γυμνέ

	Pl. M.	*Pl.* F.	*Pl.* N.
N. Acc. Gen.	γυμνοί	γυμναί	γυμνά

Proparoxytones are declined like *πράσινος*:

	Sg. M.	*Sg.* F.	*Sg.* N.	*Pl.* M.	*Pl.* F.	*Pl.* N.
N. Acc. Gen.	πράσινε		πράσινε	πράσινοι		πράσινα

(*b*) Traces of the old *-ύς -εῖα -ύ* declension appear in:

		Sg. M.	*Sg.* F.	*Sg.* N.
(πλατύς)	N. Acc. Gen.	πρατείε	πρατεία	πρακι̯ού

	Pl. M.	*Pl.* F.	*Pl.* N.
N. Acc. Gen.	πρατείαι		πρακι̯ά,

and in forms like *βαθι̯ού* (*βαθύ*), *βαρ̌ι̯ού* (*βαρύ*), *παχι̯ού* (*παχύ*), which are used for all genders and cases in the singular, the plural forms being *e.g.* *βαθοί* (masc. and fem.) and *βαθι̯ά* (neuter). This *-ι̯ου* has also been extended to the neuters of a few other adjectives of the *-ος* declension, *e.g.* *τόσι̯ου* (*τόσον*), *ἄλλι̯ου* (*ἄλλο*), *κουβάνι̯ου* (neuter of *κουβάνε* = *κυάνεος*).

The comparatives are in *-ούτερε* (*-ώτερος*, *ότερος*), or *-ύτερε* (*-ύτερος*, *-είτερος*), *e.g.*

(*κακός*)	*κακό,*	*κακούτερε*
(*εὔμορφος*)	*ὄμορφο,*	*ὀμορφούτερε*
(*καλός*)	*καλέ,*	*καλύτερε*
(*ἁδρός*)	*ἀčέ*	*ἀčύτερε*

They are declined like proparoxytone positives, except that they have separate feminine forms, *e.g.* *κακουτέρα* (sg.), *κακουτέραι* (pl.). The superlative, as in Modern Greek, is formed by prefixing the article, *e.g.* *ὁ κακούτερε*, etc. *πι̯ού* (*πλέον*) is frequently inserted, as in Modern Greek, in both comparatives and superlatives, *e.g.* *πι̯οὺ κακούτερε*, *ὁ πι̯οὺ κακούτερε*. Adverbs are formed, as in Modern Greek, from the neuter pl. of the adjective, *e.g.* *κά* (*καλά*), *καλύτερα*. The old *-ως* formation is preserved in a few phrases, *e.g.* *καούρ ἐκάνερε* = M.G. *καλῶς ἦλθες*, and in the forms *ἔτρου* (*ρ*), (*ἐκείνως*), *π῾ού*(*ρ*) (*πῶς*).

The Pronoun.

(*a*) Personal.

1st Person.

	Sg.		*Pl.*
N.	*ἐζού*	N.	*ἐνεί*[1]
Acc. Gen	*ἐνίου*[1] *μι*	Acc. Gen.	*νάμου* *μου*

2nd Person.

	Sg.		*Pl.*
N.	*ἐκι̯ού*	N.	*ἐμού*
Acc. Gen.	*ἐτίου* d*ι*	Acc. Gen.	*νιούμου*[2]

[1] At Kastánitsa and Sítena, *ἐμίου* and *ἐμεί*.

[2] At Kastánitsa and Sítena, *νύμου*.

3rd Person.

	Sg.	*Pl.*
N.	—	—
Acc.	*νι*	*σι*
Gen.	*σι*	

ἐζού = *ἐγώ*, cf. *μοζοῦ* (*μογῶν*). There are no other examples of *ζ* for *γ*.

μι[1] (Classical Greek *μέ* or *μοί*) corresponds to the Modern Greek *με* (acc.), *μου* (gen.).

ἐνίου (*ἐμίου*), and *ἐτίου* are probably to be connected with the Doric forms *ἐμείω*, *τίω*.[2]

ἐνεί (*ἐμεί*) is the ordinary Modern Greek *ἐμεῖς* with final -*ς* dropped as always.

νάμου arises from the Doric form *ἁμῶν*, with change of accent and *ν* added by wrong division (cf. *νι̯ούμου*, *νύμου*).

μου corresponds in usage to the Modern Greek *μας*, and probably arises from an acc. **ἐμούς* or a gen. **ἐμῶν*.

ἐκι̯ού represents an old *ἐτύ* with preservation of *υ* as an *u*-sound (cf. Phonology).

d*ι* is used like the Modern Greek *σε* and *σου*. The *τ*, which is preserved in *ἐτίου*, has become d owing to combinations like *το*(*ν*) *σ̌ούκ῾ον τι* (*τον ρύγχον τοι*), in which *τ* regularly becomes d owing to the preceding nasal.

ἐμού probably arises from *ὑμεῖς*, with initial vowel changed under the influence of *ἐζού*, *ἐκι̯ού*, and *ἐνεί*, and with -*ου* termination borrowed from the -*ος* declension.

The forms of the 3rd person are difficult to explain. *νι* and *σι* are used for all three genders. Perhaps *νι* is descended from the ancient Greek *νίν*; in view of the article forms *τανι*, *ταρι*, there were probably earlier forms in the singular *τονι* (masc. acc.), *τανι* (fem. acc.), *τασι* (fem. gen.), in the plural *τουσι* (masc. acc.), *τασι* (fem. acc.), and from these in combination with *νι* arose the use of *σι* as gen. sing. and acc. and gen. plural. At Kastánitsa and Sítena *σου* is also used in the genitive plural. This probably arises by proportional analogy from the forms of the 1st person *μι* (sg.), *μου* (pl.).

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[1] Cf. § 4.—Phonology.

[2] Apollon. *de Pron.* p. 365, 96 c.

(*b*) Demonstrative.

ἔνdερ̌ι

	Sg. M.	*Sg.* F.	*Sg.* N.	*Pl.* M.	*Pl.* F.	*Pl.* N
N.	*ἔνdερ̌ι*	*ἔνdaϊ*	*ἔṅgι*	*ἔνdεϊ*		*ἔνdaϊ*
Acc.	*ἔνdενι*	*ἔνdaνι*	*ἔṅgι*			
Gen.	*ἐνdoύ*	*ἐνdάρ̌ι*	*ἐndoύ*			

ἔτηνερ̌ί

	Sg. M.	*Sg.* F.	*Sg.* N.
N.	*ἔτηνερ̌ί* *ἐτήνε*	*ἔτηναΐ* *ἐτήνα*	*ἔκηνι*
Acc.	*ἔτηνενί* *ἐτήνε*	*ἔτηνανί* *ἐτήνα*	*ἔκηνι*
Gen.	*ἐτηνού*	*ἐτηνάρ̌ι*	*ἐτηνού*

	Pl. M.	*Pl.* F.	*Pl.* N.
N. Acc. Gen.	*ἔτηνεΐ* *ἐτήνοι*	*ἔτηνεΐ* *ἐτήναι*	*ἔτηναΐ*

ἔτρερ̌ι

	Sg. M.	*Sg.* F.	*Sg.* N.	*Pl.* M.	*Pl.* F.	*Pl.* N.
N.	*ἔτρερ̌ι*	*ἔτραϊ*	*ἔκηνι*	*ἔτρεϊ*		*ἔτραϊ*
Acc.	*ἔτρενι*	*ἔτρανι*	*ἔκηνι*			
Gen.	*ἐτρουνού*	*ἐτράρου*	*ἐτρουνού*			

ἔνdερι corresponds in use to the Modern Greek *τοῦτος*. Deffner[1] suggested that it grew up from expressions such as *ἔν τον*, *ἔν τους*, etc. (= see it, see them, etc., M.G. *νά τον, νά τους*), the *ἔν* arising from an ancient *ἦν*, Latin ēn. This does not seem very probable. Perhaps it is to be connected with the forms quoted by Hesychius, *ἄνδα · αὔτη* . *Κύπριοι*, *ἀντετοῦς · τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑτοῦς* . *Λάκωνες*. The forms in use at Bova, *τούνdo* (= *τοῦτο*), *τούνda* (= *ταῦτα*), may be related.

ἔτηνερ̌ί cannot be derived from *ἐκεῖνος*, as in that case it would be *ἔτσηνερί* (cf. § 4.—Phonology, p. 150). It must arise from the Doric form, *τῆνος*.

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[1] **Νέα Ἑλλάς**, No. 35, 1874.

According to the rule that *τ* becomes *κ* before *i* sounds (cf. Phonology, p. 150), the forms should be *ἔκηνερ̌ί*, etc., just as the neuter is *ἔκηνι*. Apparently this change did not take place because *ἔτηνερί* became **ἔτνερι* before the change occurred, and, after the change had ceased to operate, **ἔτνερί* became *ἔτρερ̌ί* at Kastánitsa and Sítena, and elsewhere *ἔτηνερ̌ί*.[1] The neuter **ἔτηνι* never became **ἔτνι* owing to the number of syllables and position of the accent, and consequently underwent the change of *τ* to *κ*, hence *ἔκηνι*. The change of *-ος* to *-ερ*, *-ον* to *-εν*, is dealt with in § 4.—Phonology,[2] and the *-ί* termination is frequent in Classical Greek forms, such as *οὑτοσί*, *αὑτηΐ*, *τουτί*, *τουτουΐ*, *ταυτί*. ἔn̈gι represents an earlier *ἔνdι* (cf. § 4.—Phonology, p. 153). *ἔνdεϊ*, *ἔτηνεΐ*, and *ἔτρεϊ* are feminine forms used for the masculine.

The change of accent seen in the genitives, *ἐνdού*, *ἐνdάρι*, *ἐτηνού*, *ἐτηνάρι*, may possibly be due to the influence of the Modern Greek *αὐτοῦ*, *ἐκεινού*, etc.,[3] though this is unlikely, but cannot have arisen through *αὐτός* independently in Tsakonian, as this pronoun is not used in the dialect. Perhaps it arose first in the feminine owing to the accentuation of fem. nouns in the genitive (cf. pp. 158 f.) and spread to the masculine and neuter.

ἔτρερ̌ι is used at Kastánitsa, and Sítena where *ἔτηνερ̌ί* is used in the other villages. *ἐτρουνού* is probably formed on the analogy of Modern Greek *αὐτουνοῦ*, etc., and *ἐτράρου* arises from *ἐτράρι*, which has taken on the termination of *ἐτρουνού*.

The use of *ἔνdερι* and *ἔτηνερ̌ι* (*ἔτρερ̌ι*) both as demonstrative pronouns and adjectives is precisely the same as that of *τοῦτος* and *ἐκεῖνος* in Modern Greek.

ἄλλε (*ἄλλος*) and *πάσ̌ε* (=much, many) are declined thus:

ἄλλε

	Sg.		
	M.	F.	N.
N. Acc.	*ἄλλε*	*ἄβα* [4]	*ἄλλι̯ου*
Gen.	*ἀού* [4] *ἀουνέ* [4]	*ἀλί*	*ἀουνού* [4]

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[1] Cf. *καπινέ=καπνός*.

[2] p. 144.

[3] Cf. Thumb, *Handbuch der Neugriech. Volkssprache*, p. 87.

[4] At Kastánitsa and Sítena the forms used are *ἀλλού*, *ἀλλουνέ*, *ἄλλα*, *ἀλλουνού*, and *ἄλλα*.

Pl.

	M.	F.	N.
N. Acc. Gen.	ἄλλοι	ἄλλαι	ἄβα[1]

πάσ̌ε

Sg.

	M.	F.	N.
N. Acc. Gen.	πάσ̌ε	πάσ̌α	πάσ̌ου

Pl.

	M.	F.	N.
N. Acc. Gen.	πάσ̌οι	πάσ̌αι	πάσ̌α

For ἄβα cf. κάβα, pl. of κάλι, μάβα, pl. of μάλι. In ταν ἄ σικρία (at Kastánitsa, ταν ἄλλα σ̌ικρία) the form ἄ (= ἄα) with λ dropped, as regularly before back vowels, is used. For the change of accent in ἀού see p. 165, and for ἀλί p. 160. ἀουνού is like Modern Greek ̀ἀλλουνοῦ. ἀουνέ is probably due to the n. acc. form ἄλλε, as opposed to the neuter ἄλλι̯ου with its gen. ἀουνού.

πάσ̌ε is the ancient πᾶς, with meaning changed from 'all' to 'many.' ὅλε (ὅλος) is now used for 'all.'

πάσ̌ε has taken on the terminations of an -ος adjective, but with ι̯ου in the neuter sg., for which cf. p. 161.

(*c*) The Relative.

π῾η is used, like the Modern Greek ποῦ, for all numbers, genders, and cases. For the aspiration compare π῾ού(ρ) = πῶς. Perhaps π῾η represents an earlier *π῾ου which changed its vowel through frequent elision, *e.g.* οἱ ἀθρ̌ήποι π῾ εἰν’ ἔṅgουνd’ ὀγί = the people who are coming here.

(*d*) The Interrogative.

ποίε(ρ) (Mod. Gk. ποῖος) is declined thus :—

Sg.

	M.	F.	N.
N. Acc. Gen.	ποίε(ρ)	ποία	ποίου

Pl.

	M.	F.	N.
N. Acc. Gen.	ποίοι	ποίαι	ποία

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[1] At Kastánitsa and Sítena the forms used are ἀλλού, ἀλλουνέ, ἄλλα, ἀλλουνού, and ἄλλα.

τσούνε(ρ) is used for masc. and fem. genitive singular, meaning 'whose?'

τσί is used in all genders and cases both sg. and plur. of the interrogative adjective. *τσί* seems to arise from *τίς*, and *τσούνε(ρ)* from *τινός* (Modern Greek *τίνος*).

ποίε(ρ) is clearly a borrowing from Modern Greek, otherwise the form would be *κοίερ* (cf. Phonology, p. 150).

The Verb.

The verb 'to be' is conjugated thus:—

		Pres.	Imperf.			Pres.	Imperf.
Sg.	1	*ἔνι*[1]	*ἔμα*	*Pl.*	1	*ἔμε*	*ἔμαϊ*
	2	*ἔσι*	*ἔσα*		2	*ἔτʽε*	*ἔτʽαϊ*
	3	*ἔνι*	*ἔκι*		3	*εἴνι*	*ἤṅgι, ἤṅg̭αϊ, ἤκι*

The future, subjunctive, and conditional are formed as in Modern Greek, *e.g. θα ἔνι, να ἔνι, θα ἔμα*, etc. The *ν* of *ἔνι* 1 sg. pres. and *εἴνι* is *mouillé*. Pernot[2] explains all these forms as being, like those of Modern Greek generally, derived from the *Koine* forms, *εἶμαι, εἶσαι, ἤμην, ἦσο*, etc. In order to do so he is compelled to explain the initial *ε*, which is in all the forms except the 3rd plurals, as having spread from *ἔνι*, the 3rd sg. present, and the final *-ι* of the 1st and 2nd sg. present as being due to the final *-ι* of the 3 sg. *ἔνι*. It is improbable that one form would affect so many, and under this explanation it is difficult to see why the initial vowels of the 3rd persons plural were not also assimilated. The 3 sg. *ἔνι* is clearly the mediaeval *ἔνι*, and occurs also in modern Cypriote and elsewhere. *ἔμι* (*ἔνι*) and *ἔσι* may very reasonably be regarded as being the Doric *ἐμμί* and *ἐσσί* respectively, *ἔτʽε*[3] as being developed from *ἐστέ* rather than *εἶσθε* as Pernot suggests, and *ἔμε* from the Doric *εἰμέν* or *εἰμές*, with initial vowel assimilated to *ἔμι* and *ἔτʽε*, and the final consonant dropped. *εἴνι* is probably *εἰσί* with change of *-σι* to *-νι* under the influence of the 3 sg. *ἔνι* or of other 3rd plurals in *-νι*.

As the verb 'to be' is only rarely accented, a change of accent might easily occur in the few cases where the accent remained.

Of the imperfect forms *ἔμα, ἔσα*, in view of Modern Greek dialect forms such as the Athenian *ἤμανε*, *ἤσανε*,[1] point to earlier forms **ἤμαν*, **ἤσαν*, and these require a 3rd person sg. *ἤταν* to explain them, and therefore probably a 3rd plural *ἤνταν*. Loss of final *ν* would then give **ἤμα*, **ἤσα*, **ἤτα*, **ἤντα*, and the first three would become *ἔμα*, *ἔσα*, **ἔτα*, under the influence of the present forms; **ἔτα* and **ἤντα* would become **ἔτι* and *ἤντι*, under the influence of *ἔνι* and *εἴνι*, and final *ἔτι* and *ἤντι* would become *ἔκι* and *ἤ*ṅg*ι* phonetically.[2]

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[1] At Kastánitsa and Sítena, *ἔμι*.

[2] *Revue des Études Grecques*, xxiii. pp. 62 ff.

[3] Cf. § 4.—Phonology, p. 152.

*ἤ*ṅgi*αϊ* clearly arises from *ἤ*ṅg*ι* by the addition of the ordinary aor. 3rd pl. termination -*αϊ*. *ἤκι* is formed from *ἔκι* on the analogy of the present forms *ἔνι* and *εἴνι*. The 1st and 2nd pl. imperf. *ἔμαϊ* and *ἔτ῾αϊ* seem to be formed from the present forms *ἔμε* and *ἔτ῾ε* with change of termination due to the 3rd person *ἤ*ṅgi*αϊ*.

The Active Voice.

The present and imperfect indicative are analytical forms consisting of the verb 'to be' and the present participle active.

e.g. (ὁρῶ)

Present.

Sg.	1	*ἐνι̯ ὁρού*	or	*ὁρουρ ἔνι*
	2	*ἐσι̯ ὁρού*	„	*ὁρουρ ἔσι*
	3	*ἐνι̯ ὁρού*	„	*ὁρουρ ἔνι*
Pl.	1	*ἐμ῾ ὁρούν*d*ε*	„	*ὁρούν*d*ερ ἔμε*
	2	*ἐτ῾ ὁρούν*d*ε*	„	*ὁρούν*d*ερ ἔτ῾ε*
	3	*εἰνι̯ ὁρούν*d*ε*	„	*ὁρούν*d*ερ εἴνι*

Imperfect.

Sg.	1	*ἐμα ὁρού*	or	*ὀρουρ ἔμα*
	2	*ἐσα ὁρού*	„	*ὁρουρ ἔσα*
	3	*ἐκι̯ ὁρού*	„	*ὁρουρ ἔκι*
Pl.	1	*ἔμαϊ ὁρούν*d*ε*	„	*ὁρούν*d*ερ ἔμαϊ*
	2	*ἔτ῾αϊ ὁρούν*d*ε*	„	*ὁρούν*d*ερ ἔτ῾αϊ*
	3	*ἤ*ṅg*ι*(*αϊ*) *ὁρούν*d*ε* *ἤκι*	„	*ὁρούν*d*ερ* *ἤ*ṅg*ι*(*αϊ*) *ἤκι*

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[1] *V.* **Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορ. καὶ Ἐθν. Ἑταιρ. τῆς Ἑλλάδ.**, vol. i. 1183–84, pp. 539–540.

[2] *V.* Phonology, pp. 150, 153.

The form of the participle varies according to the gender of the subject. The above forms are for a masculine subject. With a feminine subject the participle is *ὁρούα(ρ)* in the singular, *ὁρούνdε(ρ)* in the plural; with a neuter subject *ὁρούνdα* is used both for singular and plural.

In the case of verbs other than 'contracted,' the forms are *e.g.* for *ἔχω*, masc. sg. *ἔχου*, pl. *ἔχουνdε(ρ)*, fem. sg. *ἔχα* (= **ἔχουα*), pl. *ἔχουνdε(ρ)*, neut. sg. and pl. *ἔχουνdα*. These forms are clearly descended from the classical forms *ὁρῶν*, *ὁρῶντες*, *ὁρῶντα*, *ἔχων*, *ἔχοντες*, *ἔχοντα*. The forms *ὁρούα*, *ἔχα*, are discussed in the Phonology, p. 150.

Tsakonian has an 'incomplete' future and an 'aorist' future of similar formation to those of Modern Greek, and two corresponding subjunctives. The present subjunctive and 'incomplete' future are either in *-νου*, *-ήνου*, or identical in stem with the present indicative, *e.g.*

	Pres. Ind.	Pres. Subj.	'Incomplete' Fut.
(*ὁρῶ*)	*ὁρού*	*να ὁρ̌ήνου*	*θα ὁρ̌ήνου*
(*φορῶ*)	*φορού*	*να φορ̌ήνου*	*θα φορ̌ήνου*
(*σπείρω*)	*π῾είρου*	*να π῾είρνου*	*θα π῾είρνου*
(*βάλλω*)	*βάνου*	*να βάνου*	*θα βάνου*
(*μαραίνω*)	*μαραίνου*	*να μαραίνου*	*θα μαραίνου*
(*νήθω*)	*νέσου*	*να νέσου*	*θα νέσου*
(*φωνάζω*)	*φωνι̯άνdου*	*να φωνι̯άνdου*	*θα φωνι̯άνdου*
(*ποιῶ*)	*ποίου*	*να ποίνου*	*θα ποίνου*
(*βάπτω*)	*βάφου*	*να βάψου*	*θα βάψου*
(*ζηλεύω*)	*ζηλέṅgου*	*να ζηλέṅgου*	*θα ζηλέṅgου*
(*ἀλλάσσω*)	*ἄσσου*	*να ἄσσου*	*θα ἄσσου*

In the formation of the 'aorist' subj. and future, and the aorist indicative the verbs divide themselves into two classes (1) verbs with a non-sigmatic 'aorist' future and subj. and a *-κα* aorist indicative, (2) verbs with a sigmatic 'aorist' future and subjunctive, and an aorist indicative in *-α*. The sigmatic futures are with few exceptions in *-τσου* (*-ξω*) or *-ψου*.

(1) Verbs with a non-sigmatic 'aorist' future and subjunctive, and a *-κα* aorist indicative. Under this head come old 'contracted' verbs, verbs in *-ρω*, *-λω*, *-νω*, *-θω* (*-σου*), and *-σκω* (*-κ῾ου*), and verbs with vowel stems. All of them, with the exception of verbs in *-σου* and *-κ῾ου*, have 'incomplete' futures and present subjunctives in *-νου* or *-ήνου*. The 'aorist' future and subjunctive in the case of vowel stems and *-ρω* verbs

appears to be a present form, in 'contracted' verbs is either an 'uncontracted' present form or a form arising by analogy from the aorist indicative,[1] in *-λω -νω* verbs is an old aorist form.

E.g.

	Pres. Ind.	'Aorist' Fut.	'Aorist' Subj.	Aorist Ind.
(*ὁρῶ*)	*ὁρού*	*θα ὁράου*	*να ὁράου*	*ὡράκα*
(*φορῶ*)	*φορού*	*θα φορέου*	*να φορέου*	*ἐφορέκα*
(*σπείρω*)	*π῾είρου*	*θα π῾είρου*	*να π῾είρου*	*ἐπ῾είρκα*
(*βάλλω*)	*βάνου*	*θα βάλου*	*να βάλου*	*ἐβαλήκα*
(*μαραίνω*)	*μαραίνου*	*θα μαράνου*	*να μαράνου*	*ἐμαράṅga*
(*νήθω*)	*νέσου*	*θα νέου*	*να νέου*	*ἐνέκα*
(**ἐνδύσκω*)	ṅgι̯*ούκ῾ου*	*θα* ṅgι̯*ού*	*να* ṅgι̯*ού*	*ἐ*ṅgι̯*ούκα*
(*πίνω*)	*κίνου*	*θα κίου*	*να κίου*	*ἐ*ṅg*ίκα*
(*ποιῶ*)	*ποίου*	*θα ποίου*	*να ποίου*	*ἐμ*b*οίκα*
(*θύω*)	*θύου*	*θα θύου*	*να θύου*	*ἐθύκα*

These verbs are practically all of the types which in Classical Greek had *-κα* perfects, and these *-κα* aorists are therefore to be regarded as directly descended from *-κα* perfects and not as being formed by analogy from *ἔδωκα* and *ἔθηκα*.

(2) Verbs with a sigmatic 'aorist' future and subjunctive and an aorist indicative in *-α*.

These are practically all verbs in *-φου* (*-φω*), *-ε*ṅg*ου* (*-εύω*), *-χου* (*-χω*), *-ν*d*ου* (*-ζω*), and *-σσου* (*-σσω*). Examples are :—

	Pres. Ind.	'Aorist' Fut.	'Aorist' Subj.	Aorist Ind.
(*βάπτω*)	*βάφου*	*θα βάψου*	*να βάψου*	*ἐβάβα*
(*ἀνάπτω*)	*ἀνάφου*	*θα ἀνάψου*	*να ἀνάψου*	*ἀνάβα*
(*ζηλεύω*)	*ζηλέ*ṅg*ου*	*θα ζηλέψου*	*να ζηλέψου*	*ἐζηλέβα*
(*ζωντανεύω*)	*ζων*d*ανέ*ṅg*ου*	*θα ζων*d*ανέψου*	*να ζων*d*ανέψου*	*ἐζων*d*ανέβα*
(*διαλέγω*)	*ζαλέχου*	*θα ζαλέτσου*	*να ζαλέτσου*	*ἐζαλέα*
(*θερίζω*)	*σερ̌ίν*d*ου*	*θα σερ̌ίτσου*	*να σερ̌ίτσου*	*ἐσερ̌ία*
(*χέζω*)	*χέν*d*ου*	*θα χέτσου*	*να χέτσου*	*ἐχέα*
(*πλάσσω*)	*πράσσου*	*θα πράτσου*	*να πράτσου*	*ἐπράα*
(M.G. *ὡριμάζω*)	*ρ̌ι̯άσσου*	*θα ρ̌ι̯άτσου*	*να ρ̌ι̯άτσου*	*ἐρ̌ι̯ά*
(*παύω*)	*πάφου*	*θα πάψου*	*να πάψου*	*ἐπάβα*

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[1] Cf. § 4.—Phonology, p. 144.

The future and subjunctive form require no explanation. They are all from old *-ψω, -εύσω, -αύσω, -ξω* aorist subjunctives. The aorist indicatives are partly imperfects in origin: *ἐζηλέβα, ἐζωνdανέβα, ἐπάβα* correspond to the Modern Greek imperfects *ἐζήλεβα, ἐζωντάνεβα, ἔπαβα*, and *ἐβάβα, ἀνάβα* arose from **ἐβάφα, *ἀνάφα*, under the influence of *ἐζηλέβα*, etc., by proportional analogy from the future and subjunctive forms *ζηλέψου : βάψου :: ἐζηλέβα : ἐβάβα.*

Similarly *βάφου, ἀνάφου*, etc., produced *πάφου.* In the other aorist indicatives a *γ* appears to have been dropped, and the forms appear to have been earlier **ἐζαλέγα, *ἐσερίγα, *ἐχέγα, *ἐπράγα, *ἐρ̌ι̯άγα.* Some of these arise from old perfect forms (cf. in Classical Greek *πέπραγα*, perfect of *πράσσω*), others are imperfects (cf. **ἐζαλέγα* = **ἐδιαλέγα* with the Modern Greek *ἔλεγα*, imperfect of *λέγω*), and the rest again are analogous forms due to the identity in formation of the futures and subjunctives.

The use of imperfects for aorists is easily understood when it is remembered that the new analytical imperfect had made the old form superfluous,[1] just as the new analytical present, *e.g. ἐνι̯ ὁρού*, made it possible to use the old present form *ὁράου* in the 'aorist' future *θα ὁράου.*

The personal terminations of all the futures and subjunctives are alike except in one point. Examples are :—

			'Incomplete' Future.	'Aorist' Future.
(*βάπτω*)	*Sg.*	1	*θα βάφου*	*θα βάψου*
		2	*θα βάφερε*	*θα βάψερε*
		3	*θα βάφει*	*θα βάψει*
	Pl.	1	*θα βάφομε*	*θα βάψομε*
		2	*θα βάφετε*	*θα βάψετε*
		3	*θα βάφωϊ*	*θα βάψωϊ*

'Aorist,' Future.

(*ὁρῶ*)	*Sg.*	1	*θα ὁράου*	*Pl.*	1	*θα ὁράμε*
		2	*θα ὁράρε*		2	*θα ὁράτε*
		3	*θα ὁράει*		3	*θα ὁράνι*

The 2nd sg. termination *-ερε* is derived from *-εις*. For the *ρ v.* Phonology p. 147. *ει* became *ε* owing to the following *ρ*, cf. *σίδερε* (*σίδηρος*), and the final *-ε* is due to the influence of the 1st and 2nd plural.

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[1] In modern Greek the use of imperfects for aorists is not uncommon, in particular *ἔλεγα*, etc., is frequently used for *εἶπα*, etc.

For the 3rd plural *v.* § 4.—Phonology, p. 150. Possibly *ου* has become *ο* through its open position. The other persons require no comment.

Examples of the aorist indicative are :—

(ὁρῶ)	*Sg.*	1	ὡράκα	(πλάσσω)	*Sg.*	1	ἐπράα
		2	ὡράτσερε			2	ἐπράρε
		3	ὡράτσε			3	ἐπράε
	Pl.	1	ὡράκαμε		*Pl.*	1	ἐπράμε
		2	ὡράκατε			2	ἐπράτε
		3	ὡράκαϊ			3	ἐπράαϊ

In the 2nd sg. a final -*ε* has been added as in the future. *ρ* is again for earlier *ς*. For the 3rd pl. *v.* Phonology, p. 150. The other terminations are as in Modern Greek. At Kastánitsa and Sítena the Modern Greek 3rd pl. in -*ανε* is often used instead of the Tsakonian in -*αϊ*.

The change of accent in the singular *ὡράκα*, etc., for **ὥρακα*, etc., is due to the influence of the plural. The dialect has an aorist participle active of the type :—

	Sg.			*Pl.*	
	M.	F.	N.	M. F.	N.
N. Acc. Gen.	*ὡρακού*	*ὡρακούα*	*ὡρακούν*da	*ὡρακούν*dε(ρ)	*ὡρακούν*da

It is descended from the classical -*ώς* -*υῖα* -*ός* perfect participle, and its terminations have been contaminated with those of the present participle (cf. Phonology, p. 150).

The Passive Voice.

The present and imperfect indicative are formed analytically, as in the active, with the verb 'to be' and the passive participle in -*όμενος* (-*ούμενε*), *e.g.* from *βάφου* (*βάπτω*).

		Pres. Ind.	M. N.	F.
Sg.	1	ἔνι	*βαφούμενε*	*βαφουμένα*
	2	ἔσι		
	3	ἔνι		
			M. F.	N.
Pl.	1	ἔμε	*βαφουμένοι*	*βαφουμένα*
	2	ἔτ῾ε		
	3	εἴνι		

For the imperfect *ἔμα, ἔσα, ἔκι, ἔμαϊ, ἔτ῾αϊ, ἤṅgι*, take the place of *ἔνι, ἔσι*, etc. The order is sometimes reversed, *e.g. βαφούμενερ ἔνι*, etc.

There is no 'incomplete' future and present subjunctive form in the passive.

The 'aorist' future and subjunctive is the old *-θῶ, -θῇς, -θῇ* aorist subjunctive, *e.g.* from *ὁρού*,

Sg.	1	*θα ὁραθού*	*Pl.*	1	*θα ὁραθούμε*
	2	*θα ὁραθήρε*		2	*θα ὁραθήτε*
	3	*θα ὁραθή*		3	*θα ὁραθούνι*

From *βάφου*,

Sg.	1	*θα βαφτού*	*Pl.*	1	*θα βαφτούμε*
	2	*θα βαφτήρε*		2	*θα βαφτήτε*
	3	*θα βαφτή*		3	*θα βαφτούνι*

The change of *θ* to *τ* after *φ* is regular in Tsakonian as in Modern Greek generally. For the 2nd sg. cf. the active aorist and future. For the 3rd pl. in *-νι v.* Phonology, p. 150.

The aorist indicative passive shews a curious mixture of forms. The 2nd and 3rd persons are descended from the old *-σθην* or *-θην* aorist with endings assimilated to those of the active aorist. The 1st person sg. seems to be the 1st sg. of the old perfect passive with ending assimilated to the 1st sg. of the active aorist, whilst the 1st pl. is of the same form as the 1st sg. but with the *-αϊ* termination of the 3rd pl. Doubtless the forms *ἔμα*, I was, *ἔμαϊ*, we were, have influenced them. Examples are:—

From *ὁρού*

Sg.	1	*ὡράμα*	*Pl.*	1	*ὡράμαϊ*
	2	*ὡράτ῾ερε*		2	*ὡράτ῾ατε*
	3	*ὡράτ῾ε*		3	*ὡράτ῾αϊ*

From *γράφου*,

Sg.	1	*ἐγράμα*	*Pl.*	1	*ἐγράμαϊ*
	2	*ἐγράφτερε*		2	*ἐγράφτατε*
	3	*ἐγράφτε*		3	*ἐγράφταϊ*

The aorist participle passive is in -τέ (-τός) or -τ῾έ (-στός, -κτός), *e.g.*

ὡρατέ (*ὁρού*)
ζαλετ῾έ (*ζαλέχου*)
νατέ (**γεννατός*) from *γινούμενε* (*γίγνομαι*)
πρατ῾έ (*πράσσου*).

C. A. SCUTT.

(*To be concluded.*)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF LEVANT CURRENCIES

I.—A Hoard of Mediaeval Coins from the Sporades.

II.—William Wey's Notes on the Coinage of the Latin Orient.

(Plate XV.)

I.—A Hoard of Mediaeval Coins from the Sporades.

A find of French and Neapolitan mediaeval silver coins made recently in one of the southern Sporades, probably Kasos, attracted my attention in a jeweller's shop at Smyrna in the spring of 1912. In 1913 I found the same hoard with some additions[1] in changed hands. I then managed to secure a representative selection and an analysis of the whole collection. The coins were all of groat size and may be classified as follows:—

I.—FRANCE 12

Philippe (VI.? 1326–1350).

12 *Gros Tournois*:—

Obv. Plain Cross—*Philippus Rex:* (outer circle) *Benedictum sit nomen Domini*, etc.

Rev. 'Châtel'—*Turonus civis*, within floriated border.

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[1] The Rhodian and Chian coins had been added in the interval. I had heard in 1912 of the appearance of some Chian *gigliati* which were exported to Europe separately, and have no doubt they formed part of the same find.

II.—RHODES 6

(*A*) ROGER DES PINS (1355–1365).

2 *Gigliati* (with and without pine-cone):—

Obv. Grand Master kneeling before Cross—*Frater Rogerius de Pinubus Dei gratia Magister.*

Rev. Floriated Cross—*Ospitalis Sancti Iohannis Ierosolymitani conventus Rodi.*

(*B*) RAYMOND DE BÉRENGER (1371–1374).

4 *Gigliati*:—

Obv. As before—*Frater Raimundus Berengarius Dei gratia*, etc.

Rev. As before. [Pl. XV. 1.]

III.—CHIOS 3

GENOESE REPUBLIC (1355–1566).

3 Anonymous *Gigliati* (*c.* 1355, Schlumberger, *Num. Or. Lat.* 416, Pl. XIV. 4–9 incl.):—

Obv. Doge enthroned facing—*Dux Ianuensium quem Deus protegat.*

Rev. Floriated Cross—*Conradus Rex Romanorum.* [Pl. XV. 2–4 incl.]

IV.—NAPLES 115

(*A*) ROBERT OF ANJOU (1309–1343).

70 *Gigliati* (Cagiati, *Mon. delle due Sicilie*, i. 32 ff. Tipo A):—

Obv. King enthroned facing—*Robertus Dei gratia Ierusalem et Siciliae Rex.*

Rev. Floriated Cross—(a) *Honor regis iudicium diligit* [Pl. XV. 7, 8], or (b) *Comes Provinciae et Forcalquerii* [Pl. XV. 9, 10].

(*B*) FERDINAND I. OF ARAGON (1458–1492).

23 *Coronati* of 'Coronation' type (1458–1472, Cagiati, *op. cit.* i. 44 ff. Tipo E):—

Obv. King enthroned, crowned by Cardinal (l.) assisted by a Bishop (r.)—*Coronatus quia legitime certavit.*

Rev. Cross *patée*—*Ferdinandus Dei gratia Rex Siciliae, Ierusalem, Ungariae* [Pl. XV. 5].

22 *Coronati* of 'Crowned Head' type (1472–1488, Cagiati, *op. cit.* i. 61 ff.):—
Obv. Crowned head to right—*Coronatus*, etc.
Rev. Cross *patée—Ferdinandus Dei gratia Rex Siciliae, Ierusalem* [Pl. XV. 6].

(Total) **136**

From this analysis the hoard would seem to have been buried in the latter half of the fifteenth century, a period of general disturbance in the Aegean area.[1] Kasos was owned by the Venetian family of Cornaro till 1538.[2] The chronological *lacuna* between the coins of Ferdinand I. and the rest of the hoard is discussed below.

I.—French groats of the '*châtel*' type occur in my experience widely (I have noticed isolated specimens at Constantinople and Damascus[3]) but sporadically over the Levant area. The popularity of the type is evident from its adoption by the Franks of Greece for their deniers (*tornesi*) and in Rhodes by the French Grand Master Élion de Villeneuve (1319–1346) for his early coinage of groats.[4] The French groats of the Kasos find all shew signs of hard wear, as does one Rhodian *gigliato* of Roger des Pins: the Rhodian coins call for no further comment.

III.—Genoese *gigliati* of Chios are still extremely rare: outside this find I have met with only three in the course of ten years' collecting. The types are those of the Neapolitan *gigliati* of Charles II. and Robert I. with slight modifications. Of the three from Kasos one has had considerable wear, the others are badly struck.

IV. (*A*).—As to the Neapolitan coins, which form the bulk of the hoard, *gigliati* bearing the name and titles of Robert of Anjou, which comprise more than half the whole number of coins examined, are frequently met with in the Levant (common, in my experience, at Athens[5] and Smyrna, sporadic at Constantinople) and their types have greatly influenced local coinage.

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[1] *B.S.A.* xvii. 151.

[2] *Ibid.* 164.

[3] A single specimen occurred in the Delphi find Δ (*B.C.H.* xxvi. (1897), 32 ff.).

[4] Schlumberger, *op. cit.* Pl. IX. 16.

[5] Here their commonness seems to be due mainly to the importation of a large hoard from Rhodes which passed through the hands of J. Lambros. But two *gigliati* of Charles II. occurred in the Delphi hoard Δ buried about 1340 (*B.C.H.* xxvi. 32 ff.).

(*Carlini*) *gigliati* were first struck by Robert's predecessor, Charles II. (1289–1309), and became very popular. The reverse type adapted was used by Élion de Villeneuve (1319–1346) and his successors in Rhodes for a hundred and fifty years. Both obverse and reverse, as we have seen, were copied by the Genoese of Chios, from whom in turn the types were borrowed by the Seljouk princes of Magnesia, Ayasolouk (Ephesus), and Palatia (Miletus).[1] The obverse type has slightly influenced the coinage of Cyprus[2] and more considerably that of Armenia.[3] It continued to be used intermittently by the Neapolitan kings till the reign of Ferdinand I.[4]

Of the Kasos *gigliati* only a small number are illegible and of barbarous workmanship[5]: all these are imitations of Robert's *gigliati* bearing the Provençal titles on the reverse. The great majority of the *gigliati* have the motto "*Honor Regis Iudicium diligit* in place of these titles; the legends of these contain a few blunders but cannot be regarded as the work of men blindly copying the letters of the Latin alphabet.[6] The execution, again, is less barbarous than clumsy, the thick cross of the reverse, for instance, resembling rather that of the Chian and later Rhodian *gigliati*[7] than the neatly executed designs of the home-mint.[8] Nearly all the *gigliati* are in good condition and of fair standard.

It therefore seems probable that these coins were struck after the death of Robert, probably at a provincial mint or mints,[9] for trade purposes, like the Maria Theresa dollar which is still produced commercially with the date 1780 for circulation in Abyssinia. Neapolitan *gigliati* continued in circulation fifty years later as is proved by the analysis of a Chian hoard, buried at earliest in 1500, in which they form nearly half the whole number of coins found.[1]

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[1] Schlumberger, *op. cit.* 479 ff. Pl. XVIII. 13–16 incl.

[2] First under Henri II. (1310-1324), probably through the medium of French types.

[3] Langlois (*Num. de l'Arménie*, i. Pl. I. 3) attributes a *tahegan* of this type, admittedly derived from the Neapolitan *carlini*, to Leo II. (1185–1218), but in view of the date of the Neapolitan archetype the piece must evidently be referred to one of the later kings of the same name.

[4] Cagiati, *Mon. delle due Sicilie*, i. 75, *tipo* F.

[5] *E.g.* Pl. XV. 10. It may be compared with Schlumberger's Pl. XVIII. 17, 18, Pl. XXI. 17, and our Pl. XV. 12, a specimen bought in Smyrna, but not from the Kasos hoard.

[6] Pl. XV. 9, though imitated from a *gigliato* with the Provençal titles, also seems to me undoubtedly the work of a European: for Neapolitan forgers of *gigliati* see Yver, *Commerce de l'Italie Méridionale*, 55.

[7] Those of Élion de Villeneuve have still the thin cross of the undoubtedly Neapolitan *gigliati*.

[8] Cf. Pl. XV. 11, a specimen from the Rhodes find bought in Athens.

[9] There is documentary evidence of their having been struck with the name of Robert at Tarascon as late as 1372 (Martinori in Cagiati, *op. cit.* Supp. iv. 35). Robert himself forbade the export of *gigliati* in 1333 (Yver, *op. cit.* 55).

Of Neapolitan commercial activities in the Levant area during the period between Robert and Ferdinand I. we know only that Naples had a *fondaco* and consul at Alexandria and a consul at Famagusta in the latter half of the fourteenth century.[2] In 1451 the island of Castellorizo was occupied by the troops of Alfonso V. (of Aragon, Sicily, and Naples),[3] evidently as a convenient station on the way to Cyprus and Egypt. Castellorizo came at his death (1458) to his natural son Ferdinand I., who held it in 1471.[4] There is no evidence for the organisation of Neapolitan trade in the Aegean.

The numismatic evidence, as we have seen, points to the Rhodian knights and the Genoese of Chios as the first exploiters of the *gigliato* type in the East, the former adopting it for their own coinage before 1346 and the latter after 1355. The Rhodians had constant communication with the Apulian shore of the Neapolitan kingdom, where they had important establishments and whence they provided themselves with corn.[5] Genoese merchants were also settled in the kingdom and Genoese ships would naturally touch at Naples on the way to and from the Levant. Further, an immense quantity of European money found its way to the East during the crusade of 1344–8, in which both Genoese and Rhodians were engaged.[6] To these conditions we may attribute the introduction of the *gigliato* to the Levant markets, though we cannot attempt to fix upon the mint or minters of the apparently 'commercial' varieties.

VI. (*B*).—In contradistinction to the *gigliati* bearing the name of Robert both types of Ferdinand's *coronati*, common in Europe, are new to collectors in the Levant;[7] but as Schlumberger already observed,[1] both obverse and reverse of the 'crowned head' type (Pl. XV, 6) have left their mark on the contemporary coinage of James II. of Cyprus (1460–1473). The earlier of the two types (Pl. XV, 7) commemorates the coronation of Ferdinand by Cardinal Orsini, acting for Pope Pius II., at Barletta in November 1458.[2] The coins were struck immediately after the event, and continued to be issued till August 1472, when the 'crowned head' type was adopted.[3] The latter is interesting as one of the earliest portrait types (as opposed to conventional kings' heads) of modern Europe. The *coronati* from Kasos are in good condition, though uniformly struck on flans too small for the dies.

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[1] *Rev. Ital. di Num.* i. (1888), 2.

[2] Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, ii. 482, ii. 23; for the relations of Naples with the Levant generally see Yver, *op. cit.* 137.

[3] Bosio, ii. 238.

[4] *Ibid.* 334.

[5] Lacoste, *Anselme Adorne*, 227; cf. also Yver, *op. cit.* 232.

[6] To exports of coin during this crusade may be attributed the enormous preponderance of sequins bearing the name of Andrea Dandolo in the pseudo-Venetian series (*B.S.A.* xviii. 261).

[7] They were unfamiliar to Mr. Lawson, of Smyrna, who has probably as long and wide an experience as anyone living of local finds: neither do they figure in the catalogue of the Borrell coin sale nor in Finlay's MS. list of his own coins, though both these collections contained

The 'crowned-head' *coronati*, which are the latest coins in the hoard, have an additional interest from the fact that they were first struck in the year of Mocenigo's 'crusade' (1472) against the Turks. During this campaign a series of raids were made on the west and south coasts of Asia Minor by a combined Western fleet, to which ten ships were contributed by Ferdinand I. of Naples.[4] It is not impossible that there is a direct connection between the Kasos hoard and this naval expedition.

II.—WILLIAM WEY'S NOTES ON THE COINAGE OF THE LATIN ORIENT.

In the *Itineraries* of William Wey of Eton,[5] occur the following notes on the coinage of the Latin Orient in 1458:—

(*a*) RHODES.

At Rodys ye schal haue gylotys an jouettys and asperys. A gylote ys worth a jouett and halfe,[6] *a jouett is worth xxxij. denars of Rodys. An*

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specimens of the ordinary *carlini*. By a curious coincidence a *coronato* of the 'crowned head' type, evidently from its condition and appearance not from the Smyrna hoard, was seen by me this year at Constantinople.

[1] *Num. Or. Lat.* 202 f., Pll. VII. 23, XIX. 10.

[2] Sambon in *Riv. It. Num.* 1891, 471 ; cf. *ibid.* 1893, 76.

[3] Sambon, *Riv. It. Num.* 1891, 473–4.

[4] Coriolano Cippico in Sathas, *Mon. Hist. Hell.* vii. 265. Bosio (ii. 334) says sixteen Neapolitan ships attached to this fleet wintered at Rhodes in 1472.

[5] Ed. Roxburgh Club, 1857, p. 3, etc.

[6] The (printed) text punctuates with a comma after *jouett* ('*A gylote is worth a jouett, and halfe a jouett*,' etc.) which makes nonsense.

asper is worth half a jouett, that is xvj. deners. A jouett and a <j>asper be syluer of Rodys, save the asper is money of Turkey and syluer. A Venyse doket ys worth xix. jouettys and[1] *deners.*

The resulting table of Rhodian coins is as follows :—

Gylote (*gigliato*) = $1\frac{1}{2}$ jouetts = 3 aspers = 48 deniers.

Our only other literary source for the mediaeval Rhodian coinage is Pegolotti (1340),[2] from whose account is established the relation :—

Gigliato = 2 aspers = 32 deniers.

Turning to the coins themselves[3] we find that *gigliati* of uniform weight were struck throughout the period 1340–1458. Élion de Villeneuve (1307–1346), to whose coinage Pegolotti refers, struck also half-*gigliati* (Pegolotti's *aspri*) and deniers of billon. The half-*gigliato* is discontinued under de Heredia (1376–1396) in favour of a new denomination, one-third of the *gigliato*. The latest deniers known in the period under discussion are of Roger des Pins (1355–1365). Under de Milly (1454–1461) the half-*gigliato* reappears with a new type—a half-length figure of S. John—on the reverse.

In 1458, therefore, we should expect to find in circulation the *gigliato*, with the old and new types of half-*gigliato*, the third, and the old deniers of the earlier Grand Masters. From Wey's account we see that the *thirds* and not the *halves* were now known as *aspri*; the denier had fallen from $\frac{1}{32}$ to $\frac{1}{48}$ of the *gigliato*; and we are almost forced to the conclusion that the so-called half-*gigliato* with the type of S. John was the *jouett* (*gianetto* ?) of Wey's account, in spite of its weight as given by Schlumberger. Such experiments as I have been able to make with the British Museum specimens give equivocal results, a '*jouett*' weighing 34 grains as against a *gigliato* of 58. If Schlumberger's weights are accepted we are driven to suppose a difference in standard.

It is certain that the exchange-value of the Rhodian *gigliato* had fallen, since the standard Venetian ducat (*zecchino*) is worth in 1340 ten *gigliati* and in 1458 nineteen *jouetts* and (some) deniers or $12\frac{2}{3}+$ *gigliati*.

We may further remark that the Rhodian *asper* in Wey's time was much superior in value to the Turkish, which was about $\frac{1}{50}$ of the Venetian sequin.[1]

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[1] A figure is evidently omitted.

[2] In Schlumberger, *Num. Or. Lat.* 239 ff.

[3] Schlumberger, *op. cit.*

(*b*) CYPRUS.

In Cypresse ye schal haue grotis of syluer and half grotis, and other denars of black money, and besavntes; and half a besavnte ys worth xlviij. denars, and vij. besauntys and half to a doket of Venyse. A grot of Cypres ys worth xxxviij. denars. A doket of Venyse ys worth ix. grotys and a halfe. An halfe grote ys worth xix. denars. A grot of Venyse ys worth ther xvj. denars and a solde iiij. torneys.

This gives a *bezant* of 96 deniers and a groat of 48. But we know from a contemporary source[2] that the *bezant* was worth 48 deniers, so that the word 'half' in line (3) must be struck out.[3] This change reconciles the two computations of the Venetian ducat as equivalent to (1) 9½ *groats* (=361 deniers), and (2) 7½ bezants (=360 deniers).[4]

(*c*) SYRIA.

In Surrey ye schal haue dremes and half dremes; ij. dremes be worth iij. Venyse grotis. A dreme ys worth vj. soldys of Venyse. A doket of Venyse ys worthe xix. dremes. Doketys, grotys, grosettis, and soldys of Venyse wyl go wel in Surrey; that ys to say, in the holy londe, and none other, wythoute grete losse. Here ye may know dyuersyte of moneys as fro Englond vn to Surrey in the holy londe.

The chief interest of this passage is that it makes clear the convenient relation of the Arab *dirhem* to the groat of Cyprus, the former passing at 19, the latter at 9½ to the Venetian ducat. The statement that 'in the holy londe and none other' (i.e. the parts of Syria regularly traversed by pilgrims) even the small change of Venice passed freely is to be expected,[5] since that power controlled practically the whole of the pilgrim traffic.[6]

F. W. HASLUCK.

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[1] Bertrandon de la Brocquière (1433), 324 (Bohn's ed.).

[2] Schlumberger, *op. cit.* 181 (1469).

[3] No half *bezant* is known.

[4] Schlumberger (*op. cit.* 178) gives the value of the bezant as $\frac{1}{6}$–$\frac{1}{7}$ of the ducat.

[5] So Grünemberg (1486) advises pilgrims to provide themselves with 'Dukaten der Zeka' and small change before leaving Venice (Ed. Goldfriedrich, 17). Santo Brasca (1480) gives similar directions: 'it is necessary that the gold and silver money taken should be fresh from the Venetian mint, otherwise the Moors will not accept the coins even if they were ten grains over weight' (ap. Newett, *Pilgrimage of Casola*, 13).

[6] See the valuable preface by M. Newett to her edition of Casola.

GRAVES OF THE ARABS IN ASIA MINOR

AMONG the Mahommedan religious antiquities of Asia Minor the tomb-sanctuaries held to represent the resting-places of Arabs killed during the forays of the viii–ix centuries form a well-marked and extremely interesting group. Their authenticity is on general grounds more than doubtful. The campaigns of the Arabs led to no permanent occupation: the lands they had conquered for the moment were restored to Christendom or fell to alien races. Only in the borderlands, where in times of peace Christian and Moslem might meet on equal terms, can we expect a true tradition regarding Arab graves or a continuous veneration of them to have persisted.

Of these borderland Moslem cults supposed to date back to the Arab period we can point to two examples, the tomb of the 'sister of Mahommed' at Tarsus and the tomb of Umm Haram in Cyprus.

The former is mentioned by Willibrand von Oldenburg (1210) as still a place of Moslem pilgrimage under the Christian kings of Armenia. It was situated outside the church of S. (Beatus) Peter and S. Sophia in the middle of the town.[1] It seems at least possible that this tomb was really that of the Caliph Mamoun, miscalled by the Frankish chronicler. Mamoun died in 833 A.D. at Podandus (Bozanti) and was buried at Tarsus, then an important frontier town of the Arabs, on the left hand side of the Friday Mosque.[2] I have no information as to the perpetuation or otherwise of this cult down to our own day. For present purposes it is important mainly as shewing the possibility of the survival of a Moslem cult in spite of Christian domination.

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[1] Ed. Leo Allatius, **Σύμμικτα**, 14:—*In angulo quodam extra foris Ecclesiae sepulta est soror Mahomet; cuius tumbam Saraceni in multo petunt timore et devotione.* The site of the church in question is said by Langlois to be occupied by the present Oulou Djami (*Cilicie*, 317).

[2] Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, 133, quoting Masoudi (d. 943). Yakout's lexicon (1225), also quoted, says that the tomb was still to be seen. Both authors probably possessed accurate local information.

The tomb of Umm Haram is, owing to Mr. Cobham's researches,[1] better documented. The Arab sources, which he quotes at length, are sufficient to prove that Umm Haram was a historical person, that she died in the course of an Arab expedition to Cyprus, and that she was buried there in 649 A.D. Her tomb seems to have been known at least three centuries later both to Arab and Christian,[2] but the exact position in the island is not indicated. There follows a significant *lacuna* in the history of the grave till after the conquest of Cyprus by the Turks (1572).

Hadji Khalfa,[3] halfway through the next century, is the first modern authority to mention, but without giving the name of the saint, the present 'tomb of Umm Haram' on the salt lake near Larnaka, which continues down to our own day to be a frequented Moslem pilgrimage with a well-endowed *tekke*. This is the more significant since the site of the 'tomb' is not out of the beaten track; indeed the salt lake at Larnaka has always been one of the sights visited by travellers.[4]

The so-called 'tomb' itself, though now associated with Umm Haram, has been recognised by Cobham as a prehistoric building similar to the chapel of Phaneromene[5] in the same district and the so-called 'tomb' of S. Catherine at Famagusta.[6] All three appear to have been underground prehistoric buildings, not necessarily, or even probably, tombs.

In the case of the Tomb of Umm Haram, Mariti (1760–7) records from a Christian source a tradition that its discovery was relatively recent and that its exploitation was due to a dervish. Among Mahommedans generally was current a tradition that the building, originally underground was, at a date not indicated, laid bare by heavy rains. In this condition it was discovered by shepherds, to whom its nature was revealed by a vision of a lady in white raiment.[1] It thus seems clear that the gap in the history of the tomb cannot be filled, that its cult has not been continuous, and that its authenticity is improbable. The history of other 'discoveries' of Arab tombs makes that of Umm Haram's still more suspect.

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[1] *The Story of Umm Haram* in *J. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1897, 81 ff.

[2] Const. Porph., *de Them.* iii. 40, and Al Baladuri (d. 893 A.D.) cited by Cobham.

[3] Tr. Armain in Vivien de S. Martin, *Asie Mineure*, ii. 667: (*Memlahah*) . . . *il y a en cet endroit un tekieh ou couvent de dervichs, dans lequel reposent les reliques d'une sainte dame qui vivait du temps du Prophète.* The earlier Turkish geographer Piri Reis (c. 1550, ap. Oberhummer, *Cypern*, i. 427) does not mention the tomb in his description of the island.

[4] Kootwyck (1619) who describes the salt-lake at length, does not mention the tomb (Cobham, *Exc. Cypr.* 191): the earliest foreign notice of it seems to be that of Le Bruyn (1683, *loc. cit.* 191).

[5] *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, 311.

[6] *J.H.S.* iv. 12.

Of the reputed Arab tombs in Asia Minor the most important is that of Sidi Battal Ghazi, which lies in a mausoleum (*turbe*) attached to the convent (*tekke*) bearing the name of the hero, six hours south of Eskishehr. The *tekke* was formerly a very important seat of the Bektashi dervishes: its popular vogue was enhanced by the fact that it lay on the pilgrims' road from Constantinople to Mecca.[2]

[The *tekke* of Sidi Battal is supposed by Ramsay and other authorities to occupy the site of an earlier Christian holy place, but in my opinion on insufficient grounds. The assumption rests partly on inexact archaeological data and partly on the overworked idea that every holy place has always been such.

The evidence in favour of the assumption is as follows:—

(1) The site is undoubtedly that of the ancient Nakoleia.[3]

(2) Ruins of a Byzantine monastery are said to be incorporated in the buildings of the convent. Radet goes so far as to say that the mosque is a Christian basilica[4]; Ouvré, his companion, is not so sure.[5] Other travellers' descriptions are vague.[6] A recent visitor, Brandenburg, seems to refute the idea implicitly.[7] Turkish sources attribute the building of the mosque to Suleiman the Magnificent.[8]

(3) Cuinet mentions candlesticks,[9] and Sir Charles Wilson a cup[10] of Christian workmanship, in the *turbe*. Radet calls these Perso-

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[1] *Travels in Cyprus* (Cobham's translation), 184.

[2] The *tekke* has been visited by many European travellers: the earliest first-hand account by a western known to me is that of the anonymous author of the (B.M.) *Add. MS.* 7021 (f. 35). It was known at least by repute to Menavino (*Cose Turchesche* (1548), 60).

[3] Ramsay in *J.H.S.* iii. 119; cf. *Hist. Geog.* 144.

[4] *Arch. des Miss.* vi. (1896, 446.

[5] *Un Mois en Phrygie*, 89.

[6] H. Barth, *Reise*, 889; Mordtmann, *loc. cit.*; Sir C. Wilson in Murray's *Asia Minor*, 144; Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, 168, etc.

[7] *Byz. Zeit.* xix. 106: *In der sog. 'Kirche,' d. h. dem älteren Teil des Klosters*, etc.

[8] Hadji Khalfa, tr. Armain, in Vivien de S. Martin's *Asie Mineure*, ii. 702.

[9] *Asie Mineure*, iv. 213.

[10] *Loc. cit.*

Byzantine[1]; in any case the evidence of such movable furniture is negligible.

(4) The legend of Sidi Battal's marriage with a Christian princess is read by Ramsay[2] as evidence of previous Christian occupation. But it is characteristic of a hero of a border-romance—and the cycle of legend which has grown up round the name of Sidi Battal places him in this category—that a maiden on the enemy's side should fall in love with him. The corresponding Byzantine borderer, Digenes Akritas, elopes with an Emir's daughter, and as a Christian hero is compelled on that account to spend some pages in remorse[3]; a Moslem can without reproach add the lady to his harem.[4] Further, the marriage of a Mahommedan potentate with a Christian was by no means unknown in the days of Ala-ed-din, to which the discovery of the tomb of Sidi Battal is referred.[5]]

The Mahommedan traditions of the *tekke* are clear and consistent: the official version is given in Ethé's *Fahrten des Sayyid Batthâl*[6] as follows:—The 'castle of the Messiah' was given by Ala-ed-din Sultan of Roum (1219–1236) to his general Hazârasp. One of the latter's shepherds, named Kodlidja, while feeding sheep on the hill opposite the fortress, saw there a miraculous light. He became as if enchanted, and his sheep gathered together to the spot. Hazârasp, being informed of the miracle, built a chapel on the site and it became a pilgrimage. The spot was not connected with Sidi Battal till he himself appeared in a dream to the mother of Ala-ed-din, who was a descendant of the Prophet, and bade her build him a monument at the castle of the Messiah where he had met his death. The mother of Ala-ed-din went to the castle and made enquiries, and another vision was vouchsafed to her in confirmation of her dream: the earth opened shewing a door through which she passed down a flight of seven steps to find the Arab warrior standing armed before her. The mother of Ala-ed-din built the mausoleum (*turbe*) of the newly-discovered saint; the buildings of the site were subsequently added to by the Mihaloglou family[1] and the Ottoman emperor Suleiman the Magnificent.[2] In the latter part of the sixteenth century the name of Sidi Battal was the war cry of the Turkish armies.[3]

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[1] *Op. cit.* 447.

[2] *Pauline Studies*, 168 and elsewhere.

[3] Rambaud, *Etudes Byz.* 79.

[4] Sidi Battal had at least two other Christian wives, a daughter of the Emperor and a daughter of his vizier Akrates (probably Akritas himself); cf. Ethé, *Sayyid Batthâl*, 99, 100.

[5] The father of Ala-ed-din, for instance, married a Christian woman (Sarre, *Reise*, 39 f.).

[6] Pp. 213 ff. This relation does not form part of the romance proper, to which we shal return. Other Turkish sources are quoted by A. D. Mordtmann (*Gelehrte Anzeigen d. bayr. Akad.* 1860, 260–295, and **Σύλλογος Κ'πόλεως, Παράρτημα τοῦ θ' τόμου**, xiv ff.).

The convent has lost much of its prosperity since the fall of the Bektashi order under Sultan Mahmoud II (1826), and the decline of the pilgrim road with the progress of steam navigation. The tombs of Sidi Battal and his Christian wife are still shewn in the *turbe* and that of the pious shepherd Kodlidja just outside it. Close by the *tekke* of Sidi Battal stands the tomb of Malik Ghazi,[4] his companion in arms, who fell with him at Akroenos.[5] This tomb is probably to be regarded merely as a pendant to Sidi Battal's.[6] Both, it will be noticed, are on the further side of the river from Eskishekr and its Byzantine representative:[7] this river may at some time have formed the frontier between Moslem and Christian.

The story of the miraculous finding of the Sidi Battal's tomb is of course strongly tinged with myth, but there is no reason to doubt that the revelation and establishment of the cult of the saint dates back to Seljouk times.

The hero himself was the historical Abd Allah Abou'l Hussein el Antaki, 'el Battal' (the Valiant) being a title of honour: he is known from contemporary sources, Arab and Byzantine, to have taken part in the Arab raids of the eighth century and to have fallen in battle at

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[1] A renegade family established in Bithynia under the early Ottoman sultans.

[2] Probably about 1534, the year of the emperor's visit to the tomb on his way to Bagdad (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* v. 212).

[3] *Wann sie Krieg fürnemmen, so rüffen vnd schreyen sie zu dem* Sedichassi *dem Heyligen der Victori und dess Siegs . . . Soll begraben liegen auff den Grentzen* Othomannorum *und* Caramannorum (Breuning, *Orient. Reyss.* (1579), 106). The convent was by this time already in the hands of the Bektashi (cf. *J. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1907, 568), who were intimately associated with the Janissaries.

[4] Visited by Radet and Fougères in 1886 (see map in *Arch. des Miss.* vi. 1895).

[5] 'With Al Battal was killed Mālikh the son of Shu'aib' (*Kitab Al 'Uyun* (xi cent.) ap. Brooks in *J.H.S.* xviii. 202).

[6] The *tekkes* of *Melik* Ghazi (1) in the Kale Dagh near Sarimsakli (R. Kiepert's map, section *Kaisarieh*) and (2) at Niksar in Pontus (Evliya, *Travels*, tr. von Hammer ii. 18, 104, Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii. 261) are probably to be connected with the Danishmend prince of that name (1106–1113), but the legend current at Niksar suggests contamination with the Arab cycle.

[7] Karadja Hissar according to Radet (*op. cit.* 515).

Akroenos (Afioum-Kara-Hissar), many miles south of the *tekke* which bears his name, in 740 A.D. Even if the topographical difficulty could be got over it is impossible to bridge the gap in the history of the tomb between the battle of Akroenos and the reign of Ala-ed-din, unless we suppose (which is highly improbable) that an inscription was found with the remains. Sidi Battal is comparatively well known from history: his apocryphal adventures, like those of his Byzantine counterpart Digenes Akritas, are numerous and in the canonised version of the romance fill a considerable book.[1] Certain incidents of the romance are widely current; such are the hero's adventures at Maslama's siege of Constantinople (717 A.D.), where he penetrated alone as far as S. Sophia and rode into the building on horseback[2]; his dealings with a Christian nun whom he afterwards married; and his romantic death, caused by a stone thrown as a warning by a Christian princess in love with him, who eventually killed herself from remorse.[3]

The wide vogue of this popular legend is shewn by its connection with many localities in Asia Minor. Sidi Battal's rock is shewn at Mal-tepe near Constantinople,[4] his castles at Erdek[5] and in the Karadja Dagh (Cappadocia),[6] a mosque reputed of his foundation exists at Caesarea,[7] and a second tomb at Kirshehr,[8] while a dome commemorates his birth-place at Malatia.[9] Opposite Constantinople he is connected with Kadi Keui (by the verbal identification of *Kadi* and *Ghazi*),[10] and one version of the legend of the Maiden's Tower makes Sidi Battal the cause of its construction: the Greek governor destined it—of course in vain—to shelter his daughter and his treasure from the redoubtable Arab leader.[1] The Kirk Kuz Dagh (*Mountain of the Forty Virgins*), near the *tekke* of Sidi Battal, is probably associated with the episode of the Convent of the Forty Princesses in the romance.[2]

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[1] For the adventures of Sidi Battal see the authorities cited by Mordtmann (*loc. cit.*) and especially the canonised version of the romance, a Turkish composition of the xiv–xv century based on an Arabic original, translated by Ethé (*Fahrten des Sayyid Batthâl*, Leipzig, 1871).

[2] The historical Sidi Battal appears from the Arab sources (Brooks, *J.H.S.* xix. 26) to have been present at this siege.

[3] It is this princess who is buried beside the hero.

[4] Oberhummer in Meyer's *Konstantinopel*, 332.

[5] Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, ii. 99.

[6] Ramsay and Bell, *Thousand and One Churches*, 435.

[7] Hadji Khalfa, tr. Armain, 676; cf. Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, 146.

[8] Le Strange, *op. cit.* 152; cf. Cuinet, *Asie Mineure*, i. 332.

[9] Hadji Khalfa, 660. So Digenes has at least three tombs, near Trebizond, in Crete, and in Karpathos, and other memorials in Cyprus and Crete (Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, i. 73, 74, 118–122, 131), while the historical Christian conqueror of Crete from the Arabs, Sarandapechys, multiplies to such an extent that his name becomes a generic word for a giant.

[10] Evliya, tr. von Hammer, i_2, 78.

A similar cycle of popular tradition groups itself round the name of Hussein Ghazi. The centre seems to be Aladja in Paphlagonia, called by Hadji Khalfa[3] Husseinabad, which remains the official name of the Aladja *nahié*.[4] Hussein Ghazi, brother of the *serasker* of Malatia, says the local legend, had his head cut off in an attack on Angora and carried it to a mountain an hour-and-a-half east of the town where he died. The spot was commemorated by a *tekke* which was a much-frequented pilgrimage in the seventeenth century.[5]

Hussein's death was avenged by his son Djaffer, who took from the Christians a castle near Kirshehr and converted the governor Shamas after a single combat.[6] The name of the latter is commemorated in that of the Shamaspur Tekke at Aladja, which contains another reputed grave of Hussein.[7] Djaffer is probably the hero buried at the *tekke* near Touloumbounar (on the Cassaba line) which bears his name.[8]

Another Arab warrior certainly historical is Abd-el-Wahab, whose tomb is venerated at Sivas.[9] He is said by the Arab chroniclers to have been killed 'in the land of the Romans' in 730–1 A.D.[10]

Nearly all these persons are commemorated in the romance of Sidi Battal. Hussein is the father of Battal,[11] Djaffer is Battal himself before he received his title,[12] and Abd-el-Wahab is constantly mentioned.[13] In the romance, however, the fighting centres round Amorium (Hergan Kale), which was historically a notable Byzantine fortress during the Arab wars, but, having been razed by the Arabs after the great siege of 838, disappeared at that date from history. Its site, like that of Akroenos, has only recently been identified, and by Westerns; the reputed Arab tombs, as we have seen, are nowhere near it. But the later Arab writers seem to have been misled by the similarity of the two names in Arabic into identifying Amorium with Angora,[1] which accounts for their placing the tomb of Hussein Ghazi at the latter town, while the romance makes Amorium the scene of his death.[2]

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[1] Evliya, tr. von Hammer, i$_2$, 78.

[2] Ethé, *op. cit.* 89.

[3] Tr. Armain, 678.

[4] Murray's *Asia Minor*, 20.

[5] Evliya, ii. 228; there is now a *turbe* only, administered by the Bairami dervishes of Angora (Perrot, *Galatie*, i. 283).

[6] Ainsworth, *Travels*, i. 157; cf. Barth, *Reise*, 74, 78. Schumas (*sic*) figures in the romance (Ethé, *loc. cit.* 21) as a monk converted by Battal.

[7] Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, 36.

[8] (F. W. H.)

[9] Cuinet, *Asie Mineure*, i. 166.

[10] *Khitab al 'Uyun* ap. Brooks in *J.H.S.* xviii. 200: the death of Abd-el-Wahab is place under the next year by Al Tabari (d. 923, *ibid.*).

[11] Ethé, *op. cit.* 7.

[12] *Ibid.* 57; cf. Evliya, i. 27.

[13] *Ibid.* 37, etc.

Other Arab memorials in Asia Minor, not apparently connected with the Battal cycle, are mentioned by Ibn Batuta at Daouas[3] (vilayet of Aidin) and at Sinope,[4] the former a memorial of the birthplace of Suhayb, a Companion of the Prophet, the latter a tomb of Bilal the Ethiopian. Another tomb of Bilal, presumably if not authentic at least earlier than that at Sinope, is shewn at Damascus.[5]

It appears from the foregoing that the graves and memorials of the Arabs in Asia Minor, though they commemorate in many cases historical persons and the great historical fact of the Arab wars, and indicate also in a vague way the area over which these wars were fought, are almost certainly all fictitious. So far as we can see the traditional sites have been discovered by 'revelation' and identified by an uncritical use of written sources or merely by floating tradition.[6] They thus afford no independent topographical evidence for the Arab campaigns. It is further to be remarked that Ibn Batuta's notice of two Arab memorials already in the early fourteenth century shews that such memorials were sought for and identified in this way already in the Seljouk period. Earliest of all is the tomb of Amrou'l Kais, a contemporary of the Prophet, which is mentioned as shewn at Angora by the early thirteenth-century geographer Yakout.[7] If we may believe the traditional account, the tomb of Sidi Ghazi was discovered at the same period.

The motive for the 'discovery' of such tombs is consciously or subconsciously political. At the back of the mind of the conquering race lies the idea of substantiating a prior claim to the conquered soil.[8] The tomb of Eyoub, the great *Ghazi* of the Arab siege of Constantinople, was said to have been revealed actually during the siege of 1453.[1] Similarly at the siege of Bagdad under Suleiman (1534), where religious animosities might be used to spur on the soldiers, the tomb of the orthodox (Sunni) doctor Abou Hanifa was 'discovered' under the walls of the heretic (Shia) town.[2] The discoverer in the case of the tomb of Eyoub (and probably in all such discoveries) was a pious sheikh; if we bear in mind the extraordinary influence of dreams and their interpretation in the Eastern world it is obvious that the good faith of a devout and pious mystic need not be called in question.

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[1] Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, 153.

[2] Ethé, *op. cit.* 11.

[3] Tr. Sanguinetti, ii. 277.

[4] Tr. Sanguinetti, ii. 349. Cf. Evliya, ii. 38.

[5] Le Strange, *Palestine*, 272.

[6] The beginnings of a Battal myth were recognised in our own times by Barth (*Reise*, 153) between Yuzgat and Caesarea, where a historical person of the reign of Murad IV (1623–40) bearing the title of Battal was already becoming confused with the legendary hero.

[7] Ap. Brooks in *J.H.S.* xxi. 76.

[8] A *real* burial gives a similar claim. It was not without such an intention that the Caliph Mamoun was buried in the frontier town of Tarsus (Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, 132–3).

But, as we have seen from the cases of Umm Haram, Sidi Battal, and Eyoub, the fully-developed type of legend postulates two agents in such discoveries, the shepherd, to whom the sanctity of the spot is revealed by an outward miracle, and the wise man, who is guided by a dream to interpret it according to his learning. The sequence is psychologically true. To the simple and devout peasant any chance combination of circumstances may give a religious colour to a commonplace discovery, and anything remotely resembling a tomb pre-supposes a buried saint.[3] It remains for the learned to give the saint a name and a historical setting.

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[1] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii. 595 (who aptly compares the finding of the Sacred Lance by the Crusaders before Antioch); cf. Evliya, i_2. 35. The occurrence is not mentioned, however, by any contemporary authority for the siege (Mordtmann, *Belägerung K'pels*, 111), and probably took place shortly after. (So Cantemir tr. Joncquières, i. 106; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i. 305.) A modern version of the story is told by S. Adamson in *Harper's* (June, 1913, 30 ff.) in which, as in the case of the tombs of Umm Haram and Sidi Battal, the first discovery of the sanctity of the site is attributed to shepherds.

[2] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* v. 221.

[3] The cult of Houlfet Ghazi at Amasia (Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii. 169) is probably based on no more than the discovery of the (ancient) sarcophagus in which the hero is said to rest. Similarly in Karpathos two ancient sarcophagi are supposed to be those of Digenes Akritas and his wife (Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, i. 122).

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM UNDER THE SULTANS OF KONIA

AT the first appearance of the Ottomans, towards the close of the thirteenth century, Christian and Turk had already been living for two centuries side by side in the interior of Asia Minor under the rule of the Seljouk Sultans of Roum. The political history of this period is still emerging from obscurity: the social and religious history has hardly been touched. The Byzantine historians, concerned only incidentally with provinces already *in partibus*, give us no more than hints, and we have none of those personal and intimate records which are apt to tell us much more of social conditions than the most elaborate chronicle.

The golden age of the Sultanate of Roum is undoubtedly the reign of Ala-ed-din I. (1219–1236), whose capital, Konia, still in its decay bears witness by monument and inscription to the culture and artistic achievement of his time. Ala-ed-din was a highly-educated man and an enlightened ruler. He was familiar with Christianity, having spent eleven years in exile at Constantinople.[1] One of his predecessors, Kaikhosru I. (1192–6, 1204–10) who likewise spent an exile in Christendom, nearly became a Christian and married a Christian wife.[2] He was more than suspected of infidelity to Islam by his stricter Moslem neighbour of Aleppo.[3] Ala-ed-din's grandson, Az-ed-din, the son of a Christian mother, was said by the bishop of Pisidia to have been a Christian, and his sons when at Constantinople were admitted to the Sacrament.[4] Both Ala-ed-din and his house were therefore familiar with Christianity and if not actively sympathetic to it at least without prejudice against it.

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[1] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i. 131.

[2] Sarre, *Reise*, 39 f.

[3] C. Huart, *Konia*, 214 f.

[4] Pachym, ii. 24, iv. 3, 6. Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* i. 45–7; cf. Pears, *Destruction of Greek Empire*, 56.

Beside Ala-ed-din stands another striking figure, that of Jelal-ed-din, the mystic poet of Bokhara, who came to Konia in 1233 and is represented as a close and influential friend of the temporal ruler. Jelal-ed-din, with his friend and master in philosophy, Shems-ed-din of Tabriz, originated the order of dervishes known by the name of Mevlevi, who have throughout their history shewn themselves humane and tolerant towards Christians and regard all religions as reconcilable on a philosophic basis.[1] Jelal-ed-din himself seems to have been acquainted with Greek[2] and to have assigned to Christ as a prophet a much higher position than his strictly orthodox Moslem contemporaries.[3] He is represented both in Greek and Turkish tradition[4] as a close friend of the Greek abbot of a neighbouring monastery, whom, according to some accounts, he converted by his miracles to his own philosophy.[5] Be this as it may, it seems clear that Jelal-ed-din, like his royal master, was conciliatory in his attitude towards Christianity and Christians.

In a former paper[6] I have pointed out that the old church of S. Amphilochius at Konia (Iconium), transformed by the Turks into a mosque, was venerated by Moslems from the thirteenth century onwards as the burial-place of 'Plato the Divine Philosopher,' while the Christian tradition, persisting despite the transformation of the church, still held that the grave in it was that of the Iconian bishop Amphilochius (Fig. 1). So late as the fifteenth century both religions shared in the ambiguous cult.[7]

The Moslem veneration of Plato at Konia, which is possibly to be traced to the influence of the Mevlevi dervishes, or even to that of Jelal-ed-din himself, may have been expressly intended as a cult which Christian and Mahommedan might share on equal terms. For the learned of both religions 'Plato' may be considered a philosophic abstraction, somewhat akin to Justinian's 'Holy Wisdom of God'; for the unlearned and superstitious Moslem he was a great magician and wonder-worker; for the Greeks and Armenians he remained, in Konia at least, S. Amphilochius.

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[1] See especially Elliot, *Turkey in Europe*, 185; cf. Ramsay, *Revolution in Turkey*, 202.

[2] Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i. 152; of Jelal-ed-din's son some rhyming Greek verses of a mystic-philosophic sort, written in the Persian character, have come down to us (Krumbacher, *Byz. Litteratur*, 811; Meyer, *Byz. Zeit.* iv. 401.)

[3] C. Field, *Saints and Mystics of Islam*, 205.

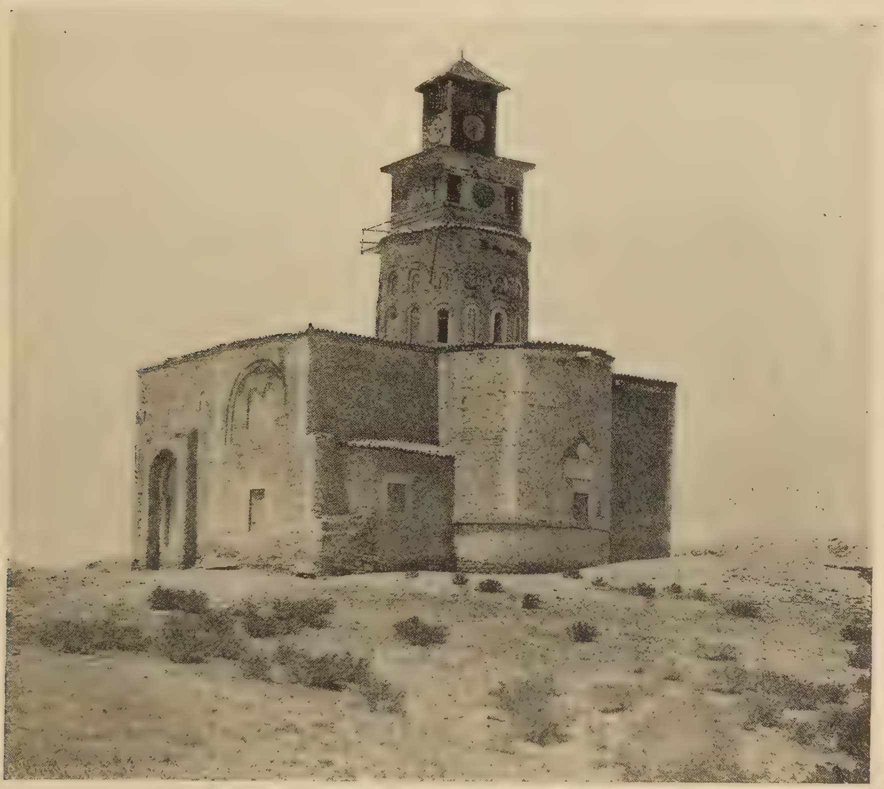
[4] See below, p. 194.

[5] *Acts of the Adepts* in Redhouse's translation of the *Mesnevi*, 72 (63).

[6] *Plato in the Folklore of the Konia Plain, B.S.A.* xviii. 265 ff.

[7] Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, 256.

The case for such a *rapprochement* between Islam and Christianity as seems implied by the cult of Plato will be materially strengthened if we can find other evidence of friendly relations between the Mevlevi and the Christians. A certain amount of tradition points in this direction.



Phot. Berggren] [*Constantinople*

FIG. I.—THE CHURCH OF S. AMPHILOCHIUS, KONIA.

In a rocky gorge an hour north of Konia stands the Greek monastery of S. Chariton (Fig. 2). The monastery is enclosed on three sides by walls and on the fourth by a precipitous cliff. The enclosure contains three churches, all wholly or partially excavated in the rock. Beside them is a small mosque of similar construction. The mosque is simple and unobtrusive, a rectangular chamber with a plain prayer-niche (*mihrab*) cut in the rock. The Christians in charge of the monastery explain its presence by a legend that the son of Jelal-ed-din, falling from the cliff above the monastery, was preserved from injury by a mysterious old man who was afterwards identified from the *eikon* in the church with S. Chariton. The miracle is still commemorated by a yearly present of oil[1] from the successors of Jelal-ed-din—the Superior of the Mevlevi order is always a descendant of the Founder—who, further, spend every year one night in prayer in the mosque. Christian tradition thus represents Jelal-ed-din as at least half-converted to Christianity by the miracle of S. Chariton. Mevlevi tradition, on the other hand, asserts that the abbot of S. Chariton was converted by the miracles of Jelal-ed-din to his philosophy.[2] It is further remarkable

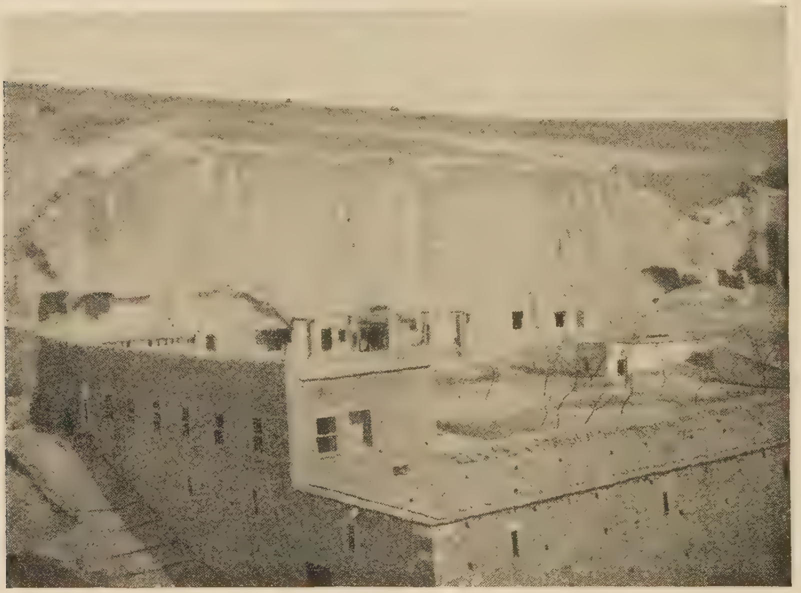


FIG. 2.—THE MONASTERY OF S. CHARITON, NEAR KONIA.

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[1] The church of Silleh, a Greek village near Konia, receives a similar present of oil and here too the practice is referred to the Seljouk period, the Greeks attributing it to Ala-ed-din himself (Pharasopoulos, **Τὰ Σύλατα**, 132) and the Mevlevi to Jelal-ed-din (from Sir Edwin Pears, who was so informed by the present Superior of the Mevlevi).

[2] *Acts of the Adepts* in Redhouse's *Mesnevi*, 72 (63).

that the monastery of S. Chariton figures in the sacred writings of the Mevlevi as the 'monastery of Plato.'[1]

We have thus found two originally Christian sanctuaries adapted for the veneration of both religions by the intrusion of the ambiguous 'Plato' figure. One of these compromises certainly (possibly both) is due to the Mevlevi dervishes. Is there a corresponding concession on the Moslem side?

In the great convent of the Mevlevi at Konia the Founder Jelal-ed-din lies buried (Fig. 3). His tomb is a place of pilgrimage for pious Mahommedans and especially for members of the Mevlevi order. Beside it is another tomb of which a curious legend is told. It is said to be that of a Christian who gave Jelal-ed-din such proofs of friendship and faithful service that the latter insisted that they should be buried side by side. There are at least three variant traditions as to the personality of the faithful friend. An Armenian version told two hundred years ago to Paul Lucas represents him as a bishop and even gives his name, Epsepi (Eusebius).[2] The Greek version states that he was the Abbot of S. Chariton,[3] on whose relations with Jelal-ed-din we have remarked above. The Mevlevi themselves say that the second tomb contains a Christian monk converted by Jelal-ed-din.[4] Thus the essential part of the legend, *i.e.* that a Christian ecclesiastic is buried beside Jelal-ed-din, is acknowledged by all parties. Whether the legend or any part of it is true or not we have here to all appearance the compromise on the Moslem side we have sought. For a third time an Iconian sanctuary is artificially rendered accessible to Christian and Moslem at once: the sanctuary is in this case the centre of the Mevlevi dervishes, the tomb-chamber of their Founder himself.

Second only to Jelal-ed-din in the veneration of the Mevlevi of Konia is Shems-ed-din of Tabriz, who lies in a much humbler mausoleum in a different quarter of the town. This also has been a celebrated shrine. Schiltberger, one of the Christian prisoners of the battle of Nicopolis (1396), notes it alone of all the wonders of Konia. 'Here,' says he, 'is the tomb of S. Schoms. He was originally a Mahommedan priest, but had himself baptized on his death-bed and received the

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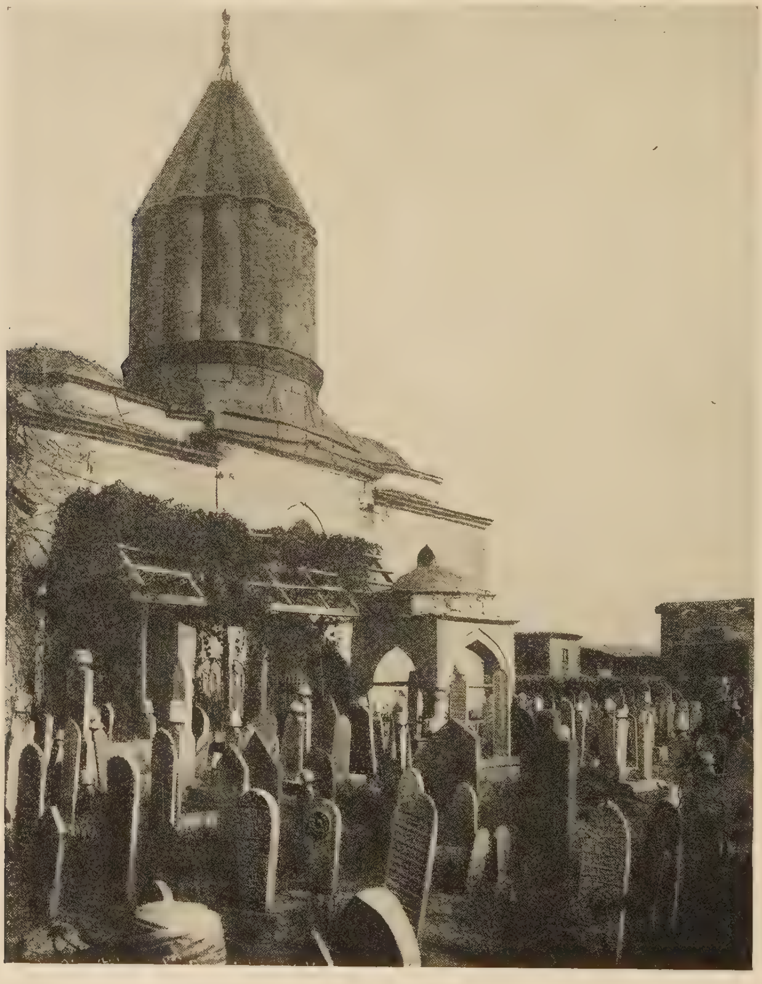
[1] *Ibid.* 72 (63) and 87 (81).

[2] Lucas, *Voyage en Grèce* (Amsterdam, 1714), i. 151.

[3] Orally (1913) from Prodromos Petrides; the Abbot of S. Chariton is introduced in the version of Levides (**Αἱ ἐν μονολίθοις Μοναί**, 156 f.): cf. N. Rizos, **Καππαδοκικά**, 130.

[4] On the spot through Prodromos Petrides.

Holy Sacrament in an apple. Great miracles are wrought at his grave.'[1] This legend, rendering needless a second tomb, has the same effect as that of the central convent. Moslems could visit and venerate the tomb of Shems-ed-din the philosopher, while Christians saw in the same person a holy man who, born in darkness, had at length turned to the



Phot. Berggren] [*Constantinople*

FIG. 3.—THE MAUSOLEUM OF JELAL-ED-DIN, KONIA.

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[1] Ed. Penzel (1813), 85; the (English) text of the Hakluyt Society's edition (p. 40) adds that the Sacrament was given by an Armenian priest.

light, and as proof of his sanctity wrought mighty works after his death.

We have thus found in Konia, the temporal capital of the Seljouk dynasty and the spiritual centre of the Mevlevi dervishes, four sanctuaries which might be visited without violence to conscience by Christian and Mahommedan alike. We have found also in Ala-ed-din an enlightened and liberal monarch with no bias against Christianity, in Jelal-ed-din a philosophic mystic with Christian leanings, and in the Abbot of S. Chariton —if he is historical—a Christian ecclesiastic evidently attracted by the spiritual personality of Jelal-ed-din.

To Ala-ed-din politically, as to the Mevlevi philosophically, the assimilation of Christian and Moslem was desirable. The Greek church, here in central Asia Minor, was spiritually at a low ebb during the period in question.[1] It seems therefore possible that some sort of religious compromise on a philosophic basis was devised between Ala-ed-din, Jelal-ed-din, and the local Christian clergy, and deliberately fostered by some or all of these parties.

The idea is not without parallels elsewhere: Akbar, the Mogul emperor of India, an enlightened ruler and a philosopher, made in his time a somewhat similar attempt to reconcile the various creeds of his subjects.[2] The movement at Konia may be regarded as a local and artificially accentuated manifestation of ideas widely current in the mystic heterodoxies of Islam, which would find great scope among the heterogeneous, and in religion primitive or degraded, population of mediaeval Asia Minor. Similar ideas of religious fusion formed in the fifteenth century the motive-power of the rebellion of Bedr-ed-din of Simav[3] and are to some extent potent to-day among the Bektashi sect in Albania, whose doctrines and organisation seem to have been used for political purposes by Ali Pasha of Yannina.[4] Such religions in countries of mixed population cater alike for the educated and the ignorant, providing for the former a philosophic standpoint, for the latter a full measure of mystery and superstition, and for all alike a convenient compromise and a basis of mutual toleration.

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[1] For the diocese of Iconium about this period see Wächter, *Verfall des Griechenthums*, 168.

[2] Bonet Maury in *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xi. 152 ff. li. 153 ff.

[3] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii. 181–5 (*c.* 1414 A.D.).

[4] Brailsford, *Macedonia*, 233, 244; Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, 209; Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, 239; Ippen, *Skutari*, 36; cf. Leake, *N. Greece*, iv. 284.

STUDIES IN TURKISH HISTORY AND FOLK-LEGEND.

I.—THE RISE OF THE KARAOSMANOGLOU.
II.—THE STORY OF SARI SALTIK.
III.—THE GIRDING OF THE SULTAN.

I.—THE RISE OF THE KARAOSMANOGLOU.

> ‘We Moslem little reck of blood
> But yet the line of Karasman
> Unchanged, unchangeable hath stood
> First of the bold Timariot bands
> That won and well can keep their lands.’
> BYRON, *Bride of Abydos* (1813), vii.

I.

THE Karaosmanoglou dynasty, which during the eighteenth century and part of the nineteenth ruled the province of Saroukhan (Magnesia) in Asia Minor, stands almost alone in Turkish history as an example of a family which not only won and retained a wide local supremacy, but was conspicuous for family solidarity and wise administration throughout its tenure of power. Of the numerous pretenders to independence who disputed the Sultans' sway during the centuries in question few were able to make their claims hereditary and none could justly boast as could the Karaosmanoglou that their administration had raised their dominions from poverty and disorder to a degree of prosperity unknown probably since the Roman empire.

The history, real and mythical, of this great Turkish family affords an interesting illustration of the growth of folk-tradition and its relation to historical fact, since we have here the rare advantage of being able to compare and contrast fact and fiction, and even to trace the growth of the myth. Less than a hundred and fifty years from the rise of the family, which is not extinct at the present day, its real origin is completely obscured; its actual history is supplanted by a purely legendary set of incidents and associations by which the family gains in prestige no less than in antiquity.

II.

Historically the foundations of the Karaosmanoglou fortunes were laid about the close of the seventeenth century by successful brigandage on a large scale. Heyman, a pastor of the Dutch community at Smyrna, visited Aidin probably in 1707[1] and there found the original Karaosmanoglou established as governor of the province. 'This Pasha,' he says, 'is called Osmanoglou and is the same who some years since made all Natolia tremble, as captain of a corps of banditti consisting of four thousand horsemen, with which he overran the country raising contributions from persons of fortune and committing all manner of violences. The Grand Seignior, however, at length pardoned him, possibly more out of fear than any other motive, and conferred on him this post which is very considerable.'[2]

The same story with minor variations and a slightly more heroic setting is told by Choiseul-Gouffier. 'About sixty years ago' Kara Osman, a private soldier in the service of a local *aga*, formed an army and a party, seized Pergamon, and eventually the whole province. Despite his success he was executed by the Sultan, but his wealth was so used by his sons as to assure the permanence of the dynasty, and his brother bought the *agalik* of Pergamon.[3]

The local variation in these two stories need not surprise us. Every brigand on a large scale in this district made it his aim to 'hold up' the two great caravan-routes leading to Smyrna—the valleys of the Hermus and the Maeander—using as his base (and if necessary his refuge) the mountains between them. It is with the Hermus valley that the Karaosmanoglou were chiefly associated, Magnesia being their capital and Pergamon the second town of their district. The discrepancy as to the fate of the first Karaosmanoglou is possibly due to a confusion on the part of Choiseul-Gouffier, or his informant, between the rebellion of Karaosmanoglou and that of Gedik Mahommed Pasha in 1689.[1]

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[1] For the difficulty of dating exactly incidents mentioned in Heyman's travels owing to the fusion of two later travellers' accounts with his own see the note in Vivien de S. Martin's bibliography of Asia Minor, No. 91 (in *Descr. de l'Asie Mineure*, ii.) and Jöcher's *Gelehrtenlexikon*, i. 787. Heyman appears from G. Cuper's *Lettres* to have been pastor at Smyrna by 1706 (p. 362) and as late as 1717 (p. 398): he was at Damascus in 1708 (p. 194).

[2] *Travels* (London, 1759), i. 122: the passage is quoted in full by Arundell, *Travels*, ii. 220.

[3] *Voyage Pittoresque*, ii. (1809), 37.

The discrepancy in date is hardly more serious, since neither authority is at all precise.[2] In any case we can place the rise of the first Karaosmanoglou pretty certainly about 1697. Edmund Chishull, travelling through Magnesia in 1699, mentions prisoners sent into that town by 'Osmanogli' as a matter of course,[3] implying that he had been established in the district (at Pergamon?)[4] for some time. Contemporary newsletters from Turkey speak of a serious rebellion in Asia Minor during 1696 and 1697 when the war on the European frontier made it impossible for the Porte to detach troops to Asia Minor. In the latter year the troubles were to some extent appeased by giving the leader of the rebels, who is never mentioned by name, a command at the front.[5] The war ended with the peace of Carlowitz in 1699, the year in which Chishull at Magnesia speaks of 'Osmanogli.'

III.

In 1671, probably before the name of Karaosmanoglou had been heard of, Thomas Smith, then chaplain at Constantinople, made the tour of the Seven Churches. In a bath-house at Pergamon he saw a large marble vase decorated with a frieze of horsemen in relief.[6] This vase was eventually (1837) acquired by the French government[7] and is now in the Louvre.[8] A few years before its transference (1828) it was seen, still in the bath-house, by MacFarlane, who was told the following story by the owner of the bath :—

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[1] For this see Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xii. 274–6; Rycaut, *Hist. of the Turks, s.a.* 1689, 333 ff.; Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, ii.$_2$ 90.

[2] Egmont's book, which did not appear till 1757, may be Choiseul-Gouffier's source.

[3] *Travels*, p. 9.

[4] The inhabitants of Pergamon were notorious for brigandage and the town was fast declining when Rycaut visited the place (*Greek Church*, 65). To employ an old brigand as policeman is no strange thing even in modern Turkey.

[5] *Mercure Historique*, 1697$_2$, 264: the troubles in Asia Minor are mentioned in various letters between June 1696 to July 1697. Cf. also Rycaut's *History*, iii. 548 f.; Hammer-Hellert, xii. 397 (rebellion quelled in 1695).

[6] *Septem Ecclesiarum Notitia* (Utrecht, 1694), 15. The vase seems to have been discovered a year earlier by Rycaut (cf. Spon's *Voyage*, i. 261, for the date of Rycaut's journey *B.S.A.* xii. 210).

[7] Texier, *Asie Mineure*, ii. 232.

[8] Reinach, *Répertoire*, i. 73: *Cat. Som. des Marbres*, 2905.

'The tradition in my family states, that our ancestor to whom we are indebted for this vase found five others with it: each contained a quantity of coins in gold and silver, amounting together to an immense sum. According to our law, all hidden treasures thus found in the earth belong of right to the sultan, and consequently my ancestor, like an honest man and a good Osmanli, remitted into the hands of government an exact account of all that he had so discovered. Instructions came from Stambool that he was to deliver up five of the vases and keep the sixth for himself; and as in the donation of the sixth vase no mention had been made of the coins, he took also those of the sixth and added them to the rest. The sultan, who intended that he should keep the treasure with the vase, was so pleased that he gave my ancestor a small estate, and the office, to be transmitted moreover to his successors, of collecting the government tithe on the grain in the neighbouring district. Now if I were to make away with this vase, it would be destroying a bond by which I hold my estate and privileges.'[1]

This tale is already suspiciously like folk-lore in some details. The Pergamon vase, for instance, which measures 1·67 m. in diameter, is hardly a likely receptacle for buried treasure, though no treasure story is too extravagant to gain credence in the Levant. The just prince and the virtuous subject are also, unhappily, commoner figures in myth than in real life.

The final edition of the story, told, and half believed, by Texier on the authority of the owner of the bath, has advanced much further on the same road. It not only supplies the name of the sultan concerned but explains the origin of the greatness of the Karaosmanoglou by means of the treasure.

'The prince of Karassi, whose seat was at Pergamon,' runs Texier's version, 'had been killed and dispossessed of Pergamon by Sultan Orkhan [1326–60], but at this period the Ottoman Sultans could not easily annihilate the great feudatories of the growing empire. One of the descendants of Karassi, named Kara Osman, was living in retirement on a fief in the neighbourhood of Pergamon (where his family had still partisans) when he discovered three marble vases of colossal dimensions, filled, the story goes, with gold pieces. Mourad I [1360–89] was then on the throne. Kara Osman sent the two largest vases to the Sultan, who gave him in return the fief of Pergamon. This is the origin of the Karaosmanoglou who down to recent times governed the pashaliks of Pergamon and Guzel-hissar. The two vases of the Sultan were without ornament: they were deposited in the mosque of S. Sophia at Constantinople where I have seen them. . . . Their height is a little above 1·80 m. The third vase, being ornamented with human figures and animals which are forbidden to Islam, could not be put to a religious use. Kara Osman gave it to one of his most faithful servants with the bath in which it was placed, and it was for his descendants a title of possession.'[1]

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[1] C. MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, i. 311.

This final version shews the illogical syncretism of folk-tradition at work: it connects, without prejudice to the owner of the bath, the remarkable local family with the remarkable vase at Pergamon and with the two remarkable, but quite dissimilar, vases at S. Sophia.

In actual fact, however, the Pergamon vase is undoubtedly Hellenistic; the S. Sophia vases have been declared Byzantine by Lethaby[2] and are said by Hafiz Hussein[3] to have been given by Mourad III (1574–95). The latter, like many Turkish sultans, resided at Magnesia before he came to the throne; but the connection between the Pergamon vase and the S. Sophia vases does not appear before Texier brought his tale to Constantinople.[4]

As to the name of the sultan, all sultans in Anatolian tradition tend to be named Mourad (except in the radius of Konia, where they are Ala-ed-din) on account of the impression made by Mourad IV's (1623–40) marches through Asia Minor to his Persian wars.[1] In the district of Saroukhan the name has a double chance, since the two royal mosques at Magnesia were built by Mourad III[2] and bear his name.

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[1] *Asie Mineure*, ii. 231. A similar story placing the discovery of the vases 'shortly after the fall of Constantinople' (Turkish for 'a very long while ago') was told of an ancestor of his own by 'a distinguished Turk' to Prokesch in 1826 (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, iii. 327). A variant as regards the vases (four found, one of which is at Pergamon, one in S. Sophia, one at Brousa) is given by C. B. Elliott (1838, *Travels*, ii. 128).

[2] *S. Sophia*, 84: the vases should be compared with the jars called *zir* made at Cairo for the purposes of ablution (Migeon, *Art Musulman*, 69) and furnished like those at S. Sophia with taps in the lower part. This form, used in Byzantine times, as Lethaby's parallels shew, for ablutions and called κολύμβιον (Neale, *E. Church*, i. 215), is quite different from that of the Pergamon vase, which in its method of use was probably analogous to the *kraters* on high stands seen on some *stelae* of the 'funeral banquet' type (*e.g.* the Thasian *stele* in *Jahrbuch*, xxviii. pl. 26).

[3] *Jardin des Mosquées* (xviii. c.) tr. Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii. 1, where the word given is *bassin*. Paspates (**Βυζ. Μελέται**, 43), who had already the Texier tradition, translates **πίθοι**. The vases at S. Sophia are first noticed, according to Lethaby, in 1594.

[4] It is mentioned by Paspates (*loc. cit.*) and Fossati (ap. Lethaby *loc. cit.*) who repaired S. Sophia in 1847.

Mourad *the first* (1360–89) is probably preferred by Texier as the hero of the story on account of his date, which is not far removed from that of the extinction of the house of Karassi (c. 1355). The likeness between the name of Kara Osman and that of the princely house of Karaman has resulted in the false form Karasman (from which to Karassi is an easy step), and has deceived Byron and other writers into crediting the Karaosmanoglou family with extreme antiquity. But the founder of the family, as we have seen, was plain Osmanoglou and still alive in 1699.

When the final version of the story comes to us the Karaosmanoglou were no longer a reigning house, having been deprived of their power by the reforming sultan Mahmoud II: had the dynasty lasted a few years longer the treasure-jars might have figured as the deposit of one of their ancestors in the time of the 'idolators before Constantine' or even in the still more remote period of the 'Genoese.'[3]

II.—THE STORY OF SARI SALTIK.

I.

The legend of Sari Saltik, set down by Evliya Effendi in the middle of the seventeenth century from particulars retailed to him by the dervishes of Kaliakra near Varna,[4] is an example of the growth of religious myth not without value for the appreciation of similar tales in Greek and other mythologies.

The main points of the story are as follows:—A certain dervish, by name Mahommed Bokhara, called also Sari Saltik Sultan, who was a disciple of the celebrated Khodja Achmet of Yassi [d. 1166/7 A.D.] and a companion of Hadji Bektash [d. 1337 A.D.], came to the court of the Ottoman Sultan Orkhan [1326–60], and after the conquest of Brousa was sent with seventy disciples into Europe. In his missionary journey Sari Saltik visited the Crimea, Muscovy, and Poland: at Danzig he killed the patriarch 'Svity Nikola,' and, assuming his robes, in this guise made many converts to Islam. He also delivered the 'kingdom of Dobrudja,' and in particular the king's daughter, from a dragon: this miracle was falsely claimed by a Christian monk, but Sari Saltik was vindicated by the ordeal of fire, and the king of Dobrudja was in consequence converted to Islam. Before his death the saint gave orders that his body should be placed in seven coffins, since seven kings should contend for its possession. This came to pass; each king took a coffin, and each coffin was found when opened to contain the body. The seven kingdoms blessed by the possession of the saint's remains are given as (1) Muscovy, where the saint is held in great honour as Svity Nikola (S. Nicolas); (2) Poland, where his tomb at Danzig is much frequented; (3) Bohemia, where the coffin was shewn at 'Pezzunijah'; (4) Sweden, which possessed a tomb at 'Bivanjah'; (5) Adrianople, near which (at Baba Eski) is another tomb; (6) Moldavia, where the tomb was shewn at Baba Dagh; and (7) Dobrudja, in which district was the convent of Kaliakra containing the seventh tomb. The veracious history concludes with the remark that 'in Christian countries Sari Saltik is generally called S. Nicolas, is much revered, and Christian monks ask alms under his auspices.'

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[1] Ibrahim Pasha has similarly become a mythological hero since his occupation of Cilicia in the thirties: he is now held responsible for 'almost every building or work of any consequence along the road,' in the neighbourhood of the Cilician Gates (Ramsay in *Geog. Journ.* xxii. (1903) 371, etc.)

[2] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii. 315; Cuinet, *Asie Mineure*, iii. 537.

[3] The 'Djineviz' (lit. 'Genoese') in Turkish folk-legend, owing probably to their apparent connection with the *Djinn*, are what the generations before the Trojan war were to the Greeks.

[4] *Travels*, tr. von Hammer, ii. 70–72, cf. 20, 21, 231. An abstract of the Kaliakra legend is given by Degrand (*Haute Albanie*, 240) from a MS. at Tirana in Albania: this MS. is said by Jacob (*Beitr. zur . . . Bektaschis*, 2, n. 4) to be the *Vilayetname* of Hadjim Sultan, a Bektashi saint (cf. Browne in *J. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1907, 561 (3)) said to be buried near Widin.

II.

Of the seven reputed tombs of Sari Saltik four (if we include 'Muscovy' as referring to the Crimea and South Russia) are located in lands actually conquered by the Turks, three in Christian Europe. The fable of the existence of the latter group can be dismissed at once as based on nothing more than the arbitrary identification of Sari Saltik with S. Nicolas.[1] In the case of three of the four Turkish tombs we can supplement, and to some extent check, Evliya's legend.

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[1] This saint is evidently chosen not only because one or two of the sanctuaries occupied by Sari Saltik had been churches of S. Nicolas (see below), but also on account of the extraordinary popularity of the latter in the countries first touched by the propaganda, Russia and Bulgaria. Bulgarian peasants are said to believe that when God dies S. Nicolas will succeed him (Slade, *Travels*, 2nd ed. 344).

The Kaliakra tomb, in a ruined fortress of the same name on a headland north of Varna, is still visited by local Christians as that of S. Nicolas.[1] It is probable that this was the original (pre-Mahommedan) dedication of the sanctuary; it is certainly appropriate to the coast-site, and the fortress of Kaliakra was in Byzantine hands so late[2] that it is difficult to imagine a break in the cult.

The 'tomb' at Baba Eski was and is a famous sanctuary, frequented for healing both by Greeks and Turks. The building is said to be an old Greek church of S. Nicolas.[3] The association with Sari Saltik seems to be late and arbitrary; the saint was locally known as Khanbour Dede ('S. Humpback').[4]

Baba Dagh, which appears to have been the starting point of the cult in Europe, will be discussed below.

III.

If such a story as that of Sari Saltik were told by Pausanias of prehistoric Greeks, it would be interpreted as an echo either of a movement of peoples, a conquest, or at the very least commercial or missionary activity, extending far beyond the limits which we know in the present case to be credible. Even with the historical background we possess any interpretation of the story which pretends to disentangle the medley of fact and fiction contained in it must be regarded as tentative. The following claims to be no more than a suggestion.

The town of Baba Dagh in Moldavia was founded by Bayezid II in 1389 and colonised with Tartars.[5] In all probability a pre-existing Christian cult was then mahommedanised. The Mahommedan saint with whom the site was associated is most likely identical with Baba Saltouk, a saint who had given his name already half a century earlier to a town near Soudak in the Crimea.[1] We may well imagine that Baba Saltouk was a tribal saint imported by the Tartar colonists to Baba Dagh.

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[1] The cult is still ambiguous, Turks worshipping a saint called Hadji Baba (*Arch. Epig. Mitt.* 1886, 189). The headland is on some modern maps marked S. Nicolas; the mediaeval *portolani* have *Kaliakra* or perversions.

[2] Cf. *Acta Patr.* i. 95, 528 (1370).

[3] J. Covel, *Diaries* (1675), 186: 'This Church [of S. Nicolas] is standing pretty entire. It is but little . . . but very handsome in the same forme almost with Sta. Sophia, with a great Cupola over the body of it, but the outward wall is scaloped'; cf. Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, ii.$_2$ 140; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vi. 250; M. Christodoulos, **Περιγραφὴ Σαράντα Ἐκκλησιῶν**, 47. Eski Baba is mentioned under that name, thus implying the cult, as early as 1553 (Verantius, ap. Jirecek, *Heerstrasse* , 167).

[4] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xi. 250 (1667). The existence of a village *Saltaklu* in the vicinity may have aided the identification with Sari Saltik.

[5] Hadji Khalfa, *Rumeli*, tr. von Hammer, 28; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xvi. 247; cf. Vassif Effendi, *Guerre de 1769–74*, 281.

Bayezid's foundation at Baba Dagh included, as Evliya tells us, a mosque, an *imaret*, a college, a bath, a *khan*, and a monument of the saint. In all probability dervishes were attached to the cult from the first; by these or their successors Sari Saltik was brought into the cycle of Hadji Bektash. The basis of the legend of the seven coffins and seven tombs is probably to be sought in some folk-story turning on the immense size of the hero.[2] This legend was used for the purposes of their own religious propaganda by the Bektashi dervishes, who probably occupied, or justified their occupation of, the two other sanctuaries of Roumeli on this pretext.[3] The further extension of the legend to non-Ottoman countries may perhaps be considered as politico-religious propaganda, devised again by the Bektashi in their character of warrior-dervishes,[4] to stimulate good Mahommedans to the conquest of the lands in which the saint's reputed tombs lay.[5] The identification of Sari Saltik with the Christian S. Nicolas is only one of the many manifestations of their philosophic creed that all religions are one. The sanctuaries of Kaliakra and Eski Baba are, as we have seen, probably old churches of S. Nicolas.

The incident of the ordeal by fire to decide between the rival claims of Sari Saltik and the Christian monk suggests that a Christian saint was supplanted, and from the dragon legend (located at Kaliakra) we should naturally infer that this saint was S. George. But in a nearly identical Bulgarian folk-story, including the episodes of (1) the rescue of the princess from the dragon, (2) the vindication of the dragon-slayer against a false claim, and (3) the conversion of the king, the hero is the Prophet Elias.[1]

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[1] Ibn Batuta, tr. Sanguinetti, ii. 416, 445. There may also be a contamination between *Saltik of Bokhara* and *Satok Bogra*, Khan of Turkestan (944–1038), a semilegendary personage who is credited with having been the first Turkish ruler to embrace Islam (see Grenard in *Journ. Asiat.* xv. (1900), 5 ff.). The mention of a dervish *Sari Salte* in a Kurdish folk-story (Jaba, *Recueil de Récits Kurdes*, 194) may mark a stage in the westward journey of the Sari Saltik myth, or may be due merely to Bektashi propaganda in Kurdistan.

[2] Cf. the similar legend of Digenes Akritas (Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, i. No. 131): it is hard to distinguish cause and effect since this type of legend may equally well arise from a desire to reconcile conflicting claims to a hero's remains. In Degrand's version of the Sari Saltik legend (see below) the number of coffins is raised to forty, obviously to cover reputed tombs of Sari Saltik in Albania and elsewhere.

[3] They were said to claim as their own any saints called *Baba* (Assad Effendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, 303).

[4] Their connection with the Janissaries is well known.

[5] The fiction of the three tombs in Christendom may, however, have been devised merely to bring the total up to the mystic number seven.

Whatever saint was supplanted we know from contemporary history that such a transition from Christianity to Islam is quite possible in the Crimea and the Balkans. If we had no history to guide us we might logically assume that the slaying of 'Svity Nikola' at Danzig, a legend very similar in form, implied the victory of Islam here also, after which we should proceed to accept the successful propagation of Islam in Muscovy, Bohemia, and Sweden likewise as historical fact.

IV.

The Sari Saltik legend has spread further to Albania, where the 'S. George' type of legend was evidently already current.[2] The episode of Sari Saltik and the dragon is located at Croia, and the importation of the *name* of the hero is certainly to be attributed to the Bektashi sect, who are specially influential in this part of Albania. At Croia the dragon lived by day in a cave and by night in a church. The princess was saved and the dragon slain in orthodox fashion by the Mussulman champion, who afterwards took up his abode in the cave till he was warned that the people of the land were plotting against his life. On hearing this he retired in three strides, which are marked by a footprint and a *tekke* at each stage, to Corfou, where he died.[3]

Here, again, rationalising on orthodox lines we should suppose that Islam, represented by Sari Saltik, had but a short-lived victory at Croia, and was eventually forced to retire; but why to Corfou, which has never been Turkish? In the light of history it seems clear that the ejected dragon-slayer was not Sari Saltik, but his Christian predecessor, probably S. George, whom the Albanians of Alessio claimed as a compatriot.[1]

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[1] L. Shishmanova, *Légendes religieuses Bulgares*, 87 ff. The lake mentioned in this story as the abode of the dragon points to Baba Dagh rather than Kaliakra as the place where this story was localised; but both places were probably brought into the story like Croia and Alessio (see below) in Albania. A localised (?) S. George legend from Varna is given by Polites, **Λαογραφία**, iv. 234.

[2] For the secular form see von Hahn, *Alban. Studien*, ii. 167. The legend of S. Donatus in the Chimarra district (M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, 32 f.) is of similar type. The fight of S. George and the dragon is localised also in Old Servia (Mackenzie and Irby, *Travels*, 672 f.).

[3] Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, 236 ff.

The truth is that all but the simplest historical folk-legends may contain interpolations dictated at various periods by various motives; after a relatively short lapse of time it becomes impossible to distinguish the basis of truth from the fanciful or interested interpolations without the sober guidance of history. Consequently though folk-legends may to some extent be interpreted by history, the converse process is beset by so many difficulties that the results are of little or no positive value.

III.—THE GIRDING OF THE SULTAN.

I.

No ceremonial of the Turkish court makes a stronger appeal to the imagination than the Girding of the Sultan at Eyoub, which takes the place of our coronation. The scene of the ceremony is for Moslems the holiest spot in Constantinople: the Mosque of Eyoub, set amongst ancient cypresses on the shore of the Golden Horn, marks the grave of an Arab warrior-saint, revealed, so legend says, while the army of Mahommed the Conqueror, not yet victorious, still camped about the beleaguered city. To these traditions are added others of a yet older past which link the history of the Ottomans with that of their forerunners, the Seljouks of Roum. From Konia, capital of Roum, comes the venerated Sheikh of the Mevlevi ('dancing') dervishes—the supreme head of his order, and hereditary successor of its founder—who plays the chief part in the investiture of the Sultan; it is he who, before the tomb-chamber of the saint, girds about the new monarch the sword with which Osman, first of the royal line which bears his name, was invested by his liege-lord of Konia. Such are the memories the ceremony of the Girding is meant to keep alive.

II.

It is the purpose of the present paper to investigate the latter part of the tradition—the connection of the ceremony of the Girding with the Seljouk Sultans of Roum and especially the privilege of the Konia Sheikhs. The traditions popularly current in our own day are given as follows by Sir Charles Elliot:—

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[1] W. Wey, *Itineraries* (1462), 119. It was to Alessio that Sari Saltik after his victory threw the carcase of the dragon; *Lesh*, the Albanian name of the town, signifies *corpse* (Degrand, *op. cit.* 240; cf. von Hahn, *loc. cit.* i. 137).

'When Osman was beginning his conquests, and had taken Broussa and other towns from the Greeks, he sent a polite embassy to Sultan Alau'-d-Din, who was then the most considerable Turkish sovereign in Asia, to explain his proceedings and his desire to remain on good terms with the greatest chieftain of his race. Alau-'d-Din replied that he had no objection to the Osmanlis taking from the Greeks whatever they could get, and, as a proof of his goodwill, sent the celebrated Jelalu-'d-Din [Founder of the Mevlevi Order of dervishes] to give Osman a sword of honour, a ceremony slightly suggesting the investiture of a vassal. But this story presents difficulties. According to the ordinary chronology, Alau-'d-Din reigned from 1219 to 1236; Jelalu-'d-Din was born in 1202 and died in 1273; Osman reigned from 1288 to 1328.[1]'

We need not lay too much stress on the anachronisms implied by the association of Jelal-ed-din with Osman, since later Superiors of the Mevlevi order have borne their Founder's name: the difficulty is moreover avoided in the Konia version of the story set down by Cuinet. According to this, Sultan Ala-ed-din the *third* of Konia during his lifetime chose as his successor the Ottoman chieftain Ertoghroul, who predeceased him. At the death of Ala-ed-din (1307) the then Sheikh of the Mevlevi wrote as his representative to Osman, the successor of Ertoghroul, to come and assume the government. Osman, being busy fighting, allowed the Sheikh to represent him at Konia till a more convenient season, and was eventually invested by the Sheikh in the traditional way.[2]

This picturesque story is unfortunately quite without historical basis. It was evidently devised to represent the acquisition of Karamania by the Ottomans as a peaceful and legitimate succession dating back to the earliest period of Ottoman power, whereas in fact the province in question was added to their dominions by conquest from the Karamanoglou, successors of the Seljouk dynasty, under Bayezid I. in 1392.[3] At the same time the part taken by the Sheikh in the story is calculated to enhance the prestige of the Mevlevi order.

Two historical facts have been used in the fabrication of the legend.

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[1] *Turkey in Europe*, 183.

[2] Cuinet, *Asie Mineure*, i. 828 f.

[3] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i. 308.

(1) When Bayezid I., the actual conqueror of Karamania, had been officially recognised as Sultan of Roum by the Caliph, he is said to have granted the privilege of girding on his sword when he went to war to his son-in-law Sheikh Bokhara, surnamed Emir Sultan.[1] Emir Sultan is said to be one of the titles of the Sheikh of the Mevlevi.[2]

(2) When the vassal prince of Karamania revolted (1435) and Konia was taken by Mourad II., the eventual agreement was signed on behalf of the prince, who had fled to Cilicia, by the then Sheikh of the Mevlevi, who bore the name of the Founder of the Order, his ancestor, Jelal-ed-din.[3]

But popular imagination carries the tradition still further. The Sheikh of the Mevlevi, who in history represents the Karamanian prince of Konia, becomes in tradition first the legitimate successor by blood of the Seljouk dynasty[4] and finally the real Caliph! Sir Charles Elliot was once told that 'when the Chelebi [*i.e.* the Sheikh of the Konia Mevlevi] proceeds to Constantinople to gird on the sword he does not go further than Scutari himself because, if he were to set foot in Constantinople, he would *ipso facto* become Sultan and Caliph.'[5] The Sultans of Konia had of course no pretensions to the Caliphate, but—and this may be the exiguous foundation of the legend—Ala-ed-din I. in 1219 received the title of representative of the Caliph in Roum.[6]

The whole of this cycle of legend is fictitious: it was evidently composed to increase the prestige of the Ottoman house in Asia Minor, where Ala-ed-din is still a popular hero of legend, and of the Mevlevi Order in Constantinople. It is based first and foremost on the traditional right of the Mevlevi Sheikh to gird the new Sultan with the so-called sword of Osman.

Now this traditional right is entirely unknown to writers on Turkish history and institutions so recent and so thorough as d'Ohsson and von Hammer. Both these authorities state that the girding ceremony was performed by the Moufti assisted by the Chief of the Emirs or Descendants of the Prophet (*Nakib-el-Ashraf*) and the Esquire of the Sultan

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[1] Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* i. 321: Hammer already connects this episode with the later Girding ceremony.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 40.

[3] Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* ii. 27 f. and note (491).

[4] Cuinet, *loc. cit.*; Byzantios, **Κωνσταντινούπολις**, iii. 575, quoted below; a garbled version in (Blunt) *People of Turkey*, ii. 267.

[5] *Turkey in Europe*, 183 f.; cf. Slade, *Travels*, 376, quoted below, p. 215.

[6] Sarre, *Reise*, 40.

(*Silihdar*). Certain high officials, the two *Caziaskers*, the Vizir and the Aga of Janissaries were admitted to the almost secret ceremony.[1] When and how did the Sheikh of the Mevlevi acquire his privilege?

III.

We must first attempt to investigate the history as opposed to the legend of the Girding ceremony. The Mosque of Eyoub, where it takes place, commemorates the discovery of the grave of the Arab *Ghazi* Eyoub who fell before the walls of Constantinople in the siege of 670. His tomb was miraculously revealed to the Sheikh Ak-Shems-ed-din, according to some writers actually during the Turkish siege of 1453: the best authorities however place the discovery after the siege.[2] The mosque, built by Mahommed the Conqueror, bears the date 1458.[3] According to the tradition current in d'Ohsson's time Sultan Mahommed II. instituted the ceremony of the Girding and was himself girded by Ak-Shems-ed-din, the discoverer of the tomb, who held no official position but was simply a greatly venerated mystic in the immediate *entourage* of the Conqueror.[4] The first contemporary mention I can find of Eyoub in connection with the accession of a Sultan is Gerlach's reference to it at the time of the accession of Mourad III. (1574), who is said to have visited the mosque *more maiorum*: the Girding is not mentioned.[5] On general grounds it seems probable that the ceremony was a counterpart of the Girding of Bayezid I., *i.e.* that it commemorated the recognition of Mahommed II.'s new position by the Caliph. For this there is a still earlier precedent in the girding of Melik Mensour, Sultan of Egypt, on his accession (1342) by the Caliph Ahmed IX.[6] The extraordinary importance attached by Mahommedans generally to the capture of Constantinople, owing to the traditional *dictum* of the Prophet, is well known.[7]

It seems at least certain that the Girding ceremony was by the seventeenth century a regular part of the Sultans' investiture, and the official historians down to d'Ohsson and von Hammer, as we have seen, regularly assign its performance to the Moufti, with the assistance of the *Nakib* and the *Silihdar*.[1] Sandys adds a curious detail suggesting that in his time the ceremony was performed more publicly: 'before this [the sepulchre of Eyoub] standeth a scaffold where the new Sultans are girt with a Sword by the hands of the *Mufti*, their principal Prelate.' This publicity is, as we shall see, no longer the custom.

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[1] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii. 258, 277, vii. 125; von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 484 and 486 (official account of the accession of Suleiman II. in 1687).

[2] Mordtmann, *Belagerung Constantinopels*, 111; cf. d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i. 305.

[3] *Jardin des Mosquées* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii. 57.

[4] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i. 305.

[5] *Ap.* Crusius, *Turcograecia*, 67.

[6] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i. 305.

[7] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii. 393 f.; cf. the inscription in S. Sophia's given in *Museum Worsleyanum*, ii. 50.

P 2

As to the Sword used in the ceremony, it is regularly spoken of as the Sword of the Prophet.[2] But among the official relics of the Prophet at Constantinople[3] a sword is never mentioned. We may venture a guess that the Sword at Eyoub was originally attributed to another Mahommed, the Conqueror himself.

IV.

In spite of the unanimity of the historians there have been occasions when the Girding ceremony was not performed by the Moufti and his assistants the *Nakib* and the *Silihdar*.

Ahmed III. came to the throne in 1703 owing to a rebellion of the Janissaries, directed chiefly against the Moufti and resulting in his deposition in favour of a creature of the Janissaries. According to the official account the new Sultan was girded by the *Silihdar*, the *Nakib*, and the Aga of the Janissaries.[4] This seems to be the first mention of the latter officer's presence at the ceremony and the exceptional circumstances of Ahmed's succession go far to explain it.

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[1] For the Moufti as the ordinary protagonist cf. Sandys (1610), *Travels*, 29; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, iv. 463; Wheler, *Journey*, 200; Tournefort, *Voyage*, letter xi.; Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, ii$_2$. 128. The *Nakib* seems very generally to have officiated at the accessions of the eighteenth century (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xiv. 235 (Mahmoud I. 1730); *ibid.* xv. 272; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, vii. 125 (Osman III. 1754); at the accession of Mustafa III. (1757 Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xvi. 5) Moufti and *Nakib* are both mentioned) and to have been the recognised protagonist at the end of the century (Juchereau, *Révol. de Constantinople*, i. 252; *Emp. Ott.* ii. 238: cf. Byzantios quoted below, p. 215).

[2] Von Hammer, *Staatsverf.* i. 484; *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xv. 138; de la Motraye, cited below; Dallaway (1794–6), *Constantinople*, 119.

[3] These, which comprise the standard, mantle, teeth, beard, and footprint, are described by d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i. 261: the footprint was deposited at Eyoub by Sultan Mahmoud I. (*Jardin des Mosquées* in Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xviii. 57), the rest are kept in the old Seraglio.

[4] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xiii. 35. Ahmed's predecessor, Mustafa II. (1695) was girded according to Cantemir (tr. Joncquières, ii. 242) by the 'Sheikh of the *Jami* (Mosque),' probably a mistake for the Sheikh-el-Islam or Moufti.

But de la Motraye's version, derived (as he tells us) from a renegade present by special favour at the ceremony, shews that it was the Aga of Janissaries who played the chief part.[1] When we remember that the Janissaries were at this date already closely and even officially connected with the Bektashi order of dervishes,[2] we suspect an attempt on the part of this order to seize the privilege and prestige of girding the Sultans,[3] and possibly to take possession of the mosque of Eyoub.

A hundred years later (1807) Mustafa IV. was placed on the throne by a similar Janissary rising, actuated by the reforms, and in particular the army reforms, of Selim III. This revolution was engineered on their own confession by the Bektashi sect.[4] Mustafa was deposed in the following year by a counter-revolution which brought to the throne Mahmoud II., a reformer like his cousin Selim.

It is precisely at this date that we begin to hear from unofficial sources of the Sheikh of the Mevlevi in connection with the Girding. The beginning of the legend is found already towards the close of the seventeenth century,[5] and in view of what we have said as to the elevation of Ahmed III. by a Janissary-Bektashi plot and his girding by the Aga of the Janissaries, it may be surmised that Mevlevi and Bektashi were at this date competing for the prestige and influence implied by a predominant part in the girding ceremony.[1]

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[1] *Travels*, i. 246, cf. 247: 'They keep in it [the mosque of Eyoub] an old Sabre which (they say) was Mahomet's . . . the ceremony of the Coronation consists particularly in girding this Sabre about the Emperor; and the Turks say instead of crowning, girding the Sabre of the Prophet: 'tis the Office and Privilege of the *Adgi Becktasse* who ought to be (according to some *Turks*) always a descendant of that Yup: for *Job* [read *or Job*] who by some Glorious Action deserved the Sirname of the Father of the Janissaries.' 'Adgi Becktasse' is of course Hadji Bektash, leaders of the Janissaries sometimes bearing the name of their patron saint. The passage on the following page of de la Motraye shews that the Moufti was on this occasion also present.

[2] See especially Rycaut, *Present State*, 65.

[3] I was told by a Bektashi dervish of Constantinople that his sect claimed for their founder, Hadji Bektash, the original privilege of girding the Sultan and regarded the Mevlevi as usurpers of their right. The mystical importance attaching to the girdle in Bektashi doctrine (Jacob, *Beiträge zur . . . Bektaschi*, 50 f.) could easily be used in support of their claim.

[4] Assad Effendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, 305.

[5] Rycaut, *Present State*, 67: 'Ottoman . . . out of devotion to their [the Mevlevi's] Religion once placed their Superiour in his Royal Throne, because having been his Tutour, and he who girded on his Sword (which is the principal ceremony of Coronation) he granted him and his Successours ample Authority and Rule over all others of the same Profession.' (The same in Lebruyn, *Voyage*, i. 390.) The reigning Sultan during Rycaut's residence in Turkey was Mahommed IV. (1648–1687), whose father, Ibrahim, fell a victim to a plot in which the Moufti, the Aga of Janissaries, and the Grand Vizir, 'Dervish' Mahommed, were all implicated. At the investiture of Mahommed IV., then a child of six, the Vizir marched in the procession to Eyoub in the habit of the Mevlevi Order (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* x. 187). Many highly-placed officials then belonged to the Mevlevi. It is at least possible that Dervish Mahommed's influence secured to the Order for the first time the privilege of Girding the Sultan.

The Girding of Mahmoud II. (1808) was accompanied by an innovation which caused great comment at the time. The Vizir, the same Bairakdar who had put the new Sultan on his throne, marched in the procession with a guard of three hundred well-armed Albanians, though the custom was that no arms should be borne.[2] As to the ceremony itself many sources point to its having been performed now for the first time by the Sheikh of the Mevlevi instead of the Moufti; the anomaly mentioned above may have been a precautionary measure in view of a possible riot.

The earliest authority for the change in the ceremony is Andréossi, who as ambassador at Constantinople (1812–14) had every opportunity of knowing the truth. Without referring to the Girding of Mahmoud II. in particular he represents the Mevlevi Sheikh as the regular protagonist in the ceremony.[3] Von Hammer, knowing the passage in Andréossi, categorically denies his statement,[4] evidently on the authority of d'Ohsson and earlier writers. But Andréossi is confirmed by Frankland (1827–8) on the authority of his landlord, who was in service for 14 years in the Seraglio,[1] by Marmont (1834),[2] by Pardoe,[3] and by Slade (1827–8) who is so circumstantial as to be worth quoting in full. The passage runs as follows: 'The investiture (with the Sword of Othman) is given by the Sheikh of the Mevlevi Dervishes, called Mollah Hunkiar, who resides at Cogni, enjoying the office by right of his family, which as being descended collaterally from the Abbasides . . . claims spiritual preeminence over the Ottomans, no one of whom would be considered as reigning de jure in the eyes of the nation unless girded by the Mollah Hunkiar. The present Mollah succeeded to the office in 1803 when two years old, by the death of his father, the old Sheick, and when seven years old, was brought to Constantinople to invest the present Sultan Mahmoud II.'[4] It is evident that by 1828 the girding by the Sheikh of the Mevlevi was regarded as an institution and that the explanatory legend was being developed.

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[1] In an exactly similar way we find a Mevlevi legend associating their Order with the Janissaries just before the latter began their official connection with the Bektashi (1591, d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, vii. 325 f.): '*l'institutione della beretta Uschiuff* (*la qual e ben nota fra i Capi di Janizzari*) *e stata inventata da Suleiman Bassa Guerriero conquistatore di Bullair, e fù portata per segno di grand' amore e divotione, che portavano à San Gelladino Greco* [Jelal-ed-din *Roumi*, the founder of the Mevlevi]. This is the version given by Saad-ed-din (tr. Bratutti, i. 40) of a legend connecting Suleiman Pasha, son of Orkhan, with the Mevlevi, given also with slight variations by d'Ohsson (*Tableau*, ii. 313) and von Hammer (*Hist. Emp. Ott.* i. 210). For the likeness between the *uskiuff* as worn by the Janissaries and the felt cap of the Mevlevi see d'Ohsson (*loc. cit.*) and C. White (*Constantinople*, iii. 354). The Bektashi, on the other hand, connected the peculiar headdress of the Janissaries with the blessing of the new troops by their own founder, Hadji Bektash (Jacob, *Beitr. zur . . . Bektaschi*, 3, etc.): of this legend I find the earliest mention in Leunclavius (*Ann. Turc.* 313 P.) just before the Bektashi were officially quartered in the barracks of the Janissaries. Similarly the Mevlevi legend that Ertoghroul visited Jelal-ed-din at Konia and recommended his son Osman to the Saint's prayers (Browne (1802) in Walpole's *Travels*, 121, a variant version substituting Suleiman Pasha for Osman in d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii. 313) corresponds to the Bektashi legend that Orkhan brought his new levies to be blessed by Hadji Bektash. The detail of this legend which connects the flap on the headdress of the Janissaries with the sleeve of the Saint who blessed them is again paralleled by a Mevlevi tradition referring the same peculiarity in the headdress of court officials to the blessing of Orkhan by their Founder (von Hammer, *Staatsverf.* ii. 409). All these legends alike seem aetiological inventions designed to increase the prestige of the orders concerned and sometimes to pave their way to a new claim.

[2] Jouannin, *Turquie*, 379.

[3] *Constantinople et le Bosphore*, 2, quoted in full by Frankland, *Constantinople*, i. 199.

[4] *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xv. 272. Juchereau similarly seems to state that Mahmoud was girded by the *Nakib*, but is really only inferring it, as Hammer did, from precedent (*Emp. Ott.* ii. 233, cf. *Révol. de Constantinople*, i. 252).

Abdul Medjid, the son and successor of Mahmoud, at his accession (1839) was again girded by the Sheikh of the Mevlevi.[5] The Moufti was induced with great difficulty to be present at the ceremony: he pleaded that the wearing of the fez by the Sultan on this occasion was repugnant to his religious scruples.[6]

From this date onwards the Girding of the Sultan seems to have been the acknowledged right of the Mevlevi Sheikh. Scarlatos Byzantios in the reign of Abdul Aziz gives an intermediate form of the legend current to-day. His words are as follows:—'The Superior of the Mevlevi dervishes called Mollah Hunkiar, who has his residence at Konia, used to gird the Sultan with the Sword in the Mosque of Eyoub, as a descendant of Ala-ed-din, Sultan of Konia, who in 1300 appointed Osman I. But as he (the Superior) was not habitually (*δὲν εὑρίσκετο*) in Constantinople his place used to be taken by the Nakib-el-ashraf or the Sheikh of the Mevlevi in Constantinople.'[7] This account, representing the *Nakib* as the natural substitute for the Mevlevi Sheikh, affords a plausible explanation of the fact that the former had girded the sultans of the eighteenth century.[1]

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[1] *Constantinople*, i. 146: 'it is customary with the Sultans, upon the ceremony of their inauguration to receive the sword of the Caliphs at the hand of the Sheikh Dervish.'

[2] *Turkish Empire*, 118.

[3] *City of the Sultans*, i. 52.

[4] *Travels in Turkey* (2nd ed.), 376 f.

[5] Lesur, *Annuaire Historique*, 1839, 182: the actual ceremony at Eyoub seems to have been kept very private. Wilkinson (*Modern Egypt*, i. 285) refers to the privilege of the Mevlevi in this reign.

[6] Juchereau, *Emp. Ott.* iv. 228.

[7] **Κωνσταντινούπολις**, iii. (1869), 575. The passage seems in part a translation of Slade. In vol. i. 602 the same author, referring to the institution of the ceremony by Mahommed II. and Ak-Shems-ed-din, says that it was now performed by the Moufti.

Meanwhile the 'Sword of the Prophet,' in accordance with the new legend, has become the 'Sword of the Caliphs'[2] or more generally the 'Sword of Osman.'[3]

So far we have arrived at the conclusions (1) that the privilege of the Mevlevi Sheikh is not an ancient institution but a comparatively recent innovation, and (2) that there is a good deal of evidence to shew that it originated at the accession of Mahmoud II. in 1808. What was the cause of the innovation?

V.

Mahmoud II., continuing the policy of Selim III., was preeminently a reforming Sultan. He aimed particularly at the remodelling of the army, which involved the abolition of the Janissaries. The latter were already hateful to him as responsible for the deposition of Selim, to whom he was attached, and for the death of his own vizir, Bairakdar, who had brought him to the throne. The Janissaries were backed by the great dervish organisation of the Bektashi, and Mahmoud acted against them with caution[4] down till 1826, when by one blow he rid himself both of the Janissaries and the Bektashi.[5] Further, any reformer had to reckon with the party of the Moufti and Oulema, which on religious grounds has always been solid for reaction.[1] The Oulema party stood particularly for the political and legal superiority of Musulmans to Christians, which in the latter part of his reign Mahmoud made some attempt to abolish.[2]

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[1] As also, perhaps, Abdul Aziz (see *Addenda* below): but during the reign of the latter we still find it asserted that the right of girding belonged to the Mevlevi (cf. van Lennep, *Asia Minor*, ii. 235).

[2] Frankland, *Constantinople*, i. 147, quoted above, p. 215. A sword purporting to be the sword of Osman's investiture, kept in the Imperial treasury, is known to Hammer (*Hist. Emp. Ott.* i. 105), as is a sword of the *Caliph Osman* (*ibid.* ii. 20, xv. 138). Were these identical? Further, a sword of the Caliph Omar, kept in the Seraglio, is mentioned by Tavernier (*Relation of the Seraglio*, 1677, 75; Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xv. 138), and I was told this year by one of the *imams* of the Eyoub Mosque that the sword now used in the Girding ceremony was that of the Caliph Omar. It is possibly the same 'sword of the Caliphs' which the later (Mevlevi) tradition has preferred to associate first with the Caliph Osman and next by an easy transition with the Ottoman Sultan of the same name.

[3] So in the modern versions cited above and in Marmont's *Turkish Empire* (p. 59); also in Baedeker's latest *Konstantinopel* (1914).

[4] For his secret action against them in 1814-16 see W. Turner, *Tour in Levant*, iii. 390 ff., cf. 385.

[5] See particularly Assad Effendi, *Destruction des Janissaires.*

The Mevlevi more than any Mahommedan religious body in Turkey have stood for tolerance and enlightenment:[3] Mahmoud enlisted them as his allies. By some he was said himself to have been a lay member of their Order,[4] which is not impossible.[5] Certainly his minister Halet Effendi[6] was in close touch with them: it was he who rebuilt the convent of the Mevlevi in Galata,[7] where his own head was for a time buried.[8] Further Halet was an unscrupulous enemy of the Janissary-Bektashi combination,[9] and advocated the war with Ali Pasha of Yannina,[10] whose power seems to have been bound up with the Bektashi of Albania.[11]

Sultan Abdul Medjid, a reformer like his father, also favoured the

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[1] For the obstructive policy of the Oulema under Mahmoud II. see particularly Walsh, *Constantinople*, ii. 300 f.; cf. also H. Southgate, *Travels* (1840), ii. 173, and Rolland, quoted below.

[2] Ubicini (*Turquie*, i. 447) says that Mahmoud was not *outwardly* for reform till 1826, but we have seen that his hatred of the Janissaries can be traced much earlier than its overt manifestation. His action on behalf of the Christians begins after 1830 (Ubicini, ii. 111), resulting in the Edict of Gulhane published some months after his death.

[3] Elliot, *Turkey in Europe*, 185 f. As to their relations with local Christians, Sir Charles Elliot heard on good authority that during the Armenian massacres of 1895–6 the Christians of Konia owed their immunity largely to the influence of the Mevlevi. The same was said at the time of the Adana massacres (Ramsay, *Revolution in Turkey*, 202, 207, confirmed to me by Dr. Post of Konia). On the early relations of the Mevlevi with local Christians see my article in this volume (pp. 192 f). Since 1634 the Order has had an official position with regard to them, since the revenues derived from the *rayah* population of Konia were conferred on them by Mourad IV. (d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii. 309).

[4] Pardoe, *City of Sultans*, i. 55, ii. 62: Mahmoud did not allow his relations with the Mevlevi to stand in the way of his own convenience if we may believe the story of his eviction of a Mevlevi convent to build Dolma Bagtche on its site (Pardoe, *op. cit.* i. 220).

[5] Abdul-Hamid is variously said to have belonged to the Bektashi (Elliot, *Turkey in Europe*, 182) and the Rufai Orders (White in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl. (1908), 235; Ramsay, *Impressions*, 149); the present Sultan (on good authority) to the Mevlevi (Lukach in *Morning Post*, Jan. 2, 1914).

[6] Halet Effendi, the *nishanji* of Mahmoud, was at the height of his power in 1820 (Ubicini, *op. cit.* ii. 102) and lost his head over the ill-success of the Greek war which he had advised for purposes of his own. The story of his fall is told in Walsh's *Journey*.

[7] R. Walsh, *Journey*, 70; Burgess, *Greece and Levant*, ii. 223.

[8] Pardoe, *op. cit.* i. 53; Frankland, *Constantinople*, i. 133.

[9] Walsh, *Constantinople*, i. 92, *Journey*, 72; MacFarlane, *Constantinople*, ii. 131 ff.

[10] Walsh, *Journey*, 70.

[11] Ali boasted that he was a Bektashi (Aravantinos, **Ἱστορία Ἀλῆ Πασσᾶ**, 417, 419) and for political ends favoured and made use of the Order: see Brailsford, *Macedonia*, 233, 244; Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, 209; Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, 239; Leake, *N. Greece*, iv. 284, 413; Hobhouse, *Travels*, 124; Lamprides, **Ἀλῆ Πασσᾶς**, 15 ff.; Ippen, *Skutari*, 36.

Mevlevi.[1] Of the head of the Mevlevi at Galata in his reign Rolland says: 'il est en effet l'une des bonnes têtes de l'empire. . . Ami de Mahmoud, le chef actuel des Tourneurs fut au nombre de ces instruments ignorés mais efficaces, qui travaillèrent le plus puissamment au triomphe de la Réforme. Personne autant que lui n'aida le défunt empereur à déjouer l'opposition de l'Uléma, à percer par la voie des interprétations théologiques les obstacles du Koran.'[2] The passage probably refers to the same person who represented the Mevlevi on the religious council which condemned the Bektashi in 1826.[3]

We may thus claim to have made out a case for the political combination of the Sultan with the Mevlevi order against (1) the Janissaries and their allies the Bektashi dervishes, and (2) the party of the Oulema.

The Mevlevi order carried off a trophy from each of these antagonists. Whereas hitherto the Superior of the Bektashi had held the official rank of Colonel in the ninety-ninth *oda* of Janissaries,[4] the Superior of the Mevlevi received from Mahmoud II. the grade of marshal (*moushir*) in the newly organised army.[5] Similarly the privilege of the Moufti at the Girding of the Sultan was transferred to the Superior of the Mevlevi.

The secret history of the Girding of Mahmoud II. will probably never be known; in all probability the then Moufti, from fear or interest, refused to officiate at the ceremony and the highest dignitary of the Mevlevi order was called in to take his place in consequence. The story of the reluctance of the Moufti to be present while his successful rival girded Abdul Medjid seems to shew that the situation was still strained in 1839. But the privilege of the Mevlevi has continued to our own day to perpetuate no misty connection with the Seljouk house of Roum, but the victory gained by Mahmoud II. with their help over the reactionary ecclesiastical party, just as the military grade of their Superior may be held to commemorate the part taken by their order against the military party of reaction represented by the Janissaries and Bektashi.

F. W. HASLUCK.

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[1] MacFarlane, *Turkey and its Destiny*, ii. 229 ff., cf. i. 200; Abdul Medjid is credited by the Mevlevi of Smyrna with the foundation of their convent (F. W. H.).

[2] C. Rolland, *La Turquie Contemporaine* (1854), 223: the information came from Prince Ghika.

[3] Assad Effendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, 305: the Galata *tekke* of the Mevlevi takes precedence of all their other foundations in the capital (F. W. H.).

[4] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii. 312.

[5] Cuinet, *Asie Mineure*, i. 829; Jacob, *Beiträge zur . . . Bektaschi*, 9.

ADDENDUM.

Subsequent investigations as to the Girding of the Sultans after Abdul Medjid, based on the official (?) reports given by the Greek press at Constantinople, shew that the privilege of the Sheikh of the Mevlevi has lapsed and been resumed even since 1839. It seems uncertain whether Abdul Aziz (1861), and Mourad V. (1876) were girded at all.

With regard to Abdul Aziz, who was strongly orthodox,[1] the Girding was to have been performed on May 21 (O.S.) by the *Nakib, acting as the representative of the Mevlevi Sheikh*,[2] an arrangement evidently devised to save the face both of the Oulema and of the Mevlevi. But the ceremony was put off till the 27 May (O.S.),[3] and is not mentioned in the newspapers of the following days.

Mourad V, who came to the throne after the deposition of Abdul Aziz in the troubled year 1876, seems certainly never to have been invested in the traditional manner. All preparations were made for the ceremony and procession by June 13 (O.S.), but the investiture was put off on the pretext that the Khedive wished to be present.[4] It had not taken place on the 23rd,[5] and on the 25th the Sultan underwent an operation.[6] He was deposed on August 19 in favour of Abdul Hamid on the ground of insanity.

Abdul Hamid was girded on the 26th, apparently by the Mevlevi Sheikh[7]; the same was certainly the case at the Girding of the present Sultan[8] who, as we have remarked, is a member of the Mevlevi order.

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[1] In this connection it is interesting to note that Abdul Aziz built a royal mosque in Konia, as did the bigoted *Sunni* Selim I. The mosque of the latter stands immediately in front of the *Tekke* of the Mevlevi. Both foundations were evidently intended as a *Sunni* counterpoise to the suspected *Shia* influence of the dervishes. Similarly in the same reign we find the important Mevlevi *tekke* at Afioum Kara Hissar deprived of half its revenues (van Lennep, *Asia Minor*, ii. 235).

[2] **Βυζαντίς**, 20 May (O.S.): *Γνωστὸν ὅτι τὸ προνόμιον τοῦ περιβάλλειν τὸν νέον Σουλτάνον τὴν σπαθὴν τοῦ Ὀσμὰν κέκτηται οἰκογένειά τις ἐξ Ἰκονίου ἱερὰν ἔχουσα καταγωγήν, ἧς ὁ ἀντιπρόσωπος Νακοὺπ Ἐσρέφ, οὐλεμᾶς ὑψηλοῦ βαθμοῦ, διαμένει ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἐγιούπ.* Cf. the contemporary note of Scarlatos Byzantios quoted above.

[3] **Νεολόγος**, 24 May (O.S.).

[4] **Νεολόγος**, June 1 (O.S.). [5] *Ibid.* June 23. [6] *Ibid.* June 26.

[7] *Ibid.* Aug. 27. The procession is fully described, but not the ceremony; on the latter only the following note is given: *περιζώννυται τὸ ξίφος ὁ τοῦ ἰσλαμισμοῦ ἀρχηγὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαδόχου τῶν σελτσουκίδων τοῦ Ἰκονίου (Μολλᾶ Χουνκιὰρ) ὧν ὁ γενάρχης τῶν Ὀσμανίδων ὑπῆρξεν ὑποτελὴς ἡγεμών.* This is the later popular legend mentioned by Elliot and Cuinet.

[8] Ramsay, *Revolution in Turkey*, 202.

The details of the ceremony on this occasion attracted some attention on account of the political circumstances which led to the change of rulers. Ramsay's narrative shews that there was no doubt in Constantinople before the ceremony as to who would officiate: even a boatman was well informed on the point.[1] Nevertheless a Greek writer in 1907,[2] and Ramsay himself in 1909, looked on the participation of the Mevlevi Sheikh as the revival of an ancient custom which had fallen into abeyance.

F. W. H.

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[1] *Ibid.* 154.

[2] Antonopoulos, **Μικρὰ Ἀσία**, 247.

'THE FORTY.'

IN Turkish geographical nomenclature certain 'round' numbers are regularly employed in an arbitrary sense. Most important of these are 'a thousand and one' (*bin bir*), used to express the idea of 'countless,' and 'forty' (*kirk*), which is similarly used for 'numerous.'[1] As examples of the first may be cited the well-known 'thousand-and-one-column' (*Bin Bir Direk*) cistern at Constantinople and the 'Thousand and one Churches' (*Bin Bir Kilisse*) in Lycaonia. For the second we may instance several rivers called Kirk Getchid ('Forty Fords,' in Greek Sarandáporos), the town Kirk Agatch ('Forty Trees'), springs called Kirk Gueuz ('Forty Eyes'), districts called Kirk In, Kirk Er ('Forty Caves') and numerous others.

Side by side with names like the foregoing, which explain themselves if we read 'numerous' for 'forty,' we find certain localities denominated simply 'the Forty' (Tk. *Kirklar*,[2] Gr. *Saránda*).[3] They are especially common in Pontus[4] but occur also elsewhere, as *e.g.* in Mysia, where there are at least two villages called Kirklar,[5] and in Caria, where the name is applied to a site with ruins of a church near the ancient Loryma[1] and to an ancient tomb east of Knidos.[2] Similarly mysterious are names like Kirklar Dagh ('Mountain of the Forty,' not 'Forty Mountains') which like the foregoing, imply an association with forty persons. These 'forties' call for explanation.

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[1] Numbers below forty, with the curious exception of five (cf. Walpole, *Travels*, 205; Arundell, *Asia Minor*, i. 75), generally keep their strict numerical value. 'Five' therefore seems to signify 'several,' 'two or three'; 'forty' estimates a number greater than the *eye* counts naturally, while 'a thousand and one' implies a number beyond counting altogether.

[2] *Kirklar* is shewn by the (plural) termination to be a substantive, not an adjective.

[3] For numbers other than forty used as place-names cf. *Dokouz* ('nine') near Konia (Huart, *Konia*, 126), where we happen to know that the full name is *Dokouz Hane Devrend* ('Post of the Nine Houses'). *Trianda* (τὰ Τριάκοντα, Ducas, 193 B), between Ephesus and Smyrna, is usually interpreted as commemorating the 30th milestone on the Roman road, but it should be remarked that there is a village of the same name in Rhodes, where this explanation is obviously impossible.

[4] Grégoire in *B.C.H.* 1909, 27; Jerphanion in *Mél. Fac. Orient.* (Beyrout), 1911, xxxviii.

[5] (1) Near Pergamon and (2) west of Balia (Philippson, *Karte des W. Kleinasiens*); the latter is an old site (Philippson, *Reisen u. Forschungen*, i. 37).

We have particularly to take into account the mystical associations of 'forty' in Turkey and the near East. Both in profane and sacred connections the number forty (days, etc.) and groups of forty (persons, etc.) meet us at every turn. In Turkish folk-tales the hero's wedding-feast regularly lasts 'forty days and forty nights.' The 'forty days' after childbirth,[3] after marriage,[4] and after death,[5] are critical periods, and during the 'forty days' between November 27 and January 5, evil spirits are unusually active.[6] Robbers, ogres, *djinns*, and *peris* go about in bands of forty,[7] and the number appears again and again in magic prescriptions.[8]

In the religious lore both of Christian and Mahommedan the same number constantly recurs. The great fasts of the Christians are of forty days, dervishes of the Khalveti order likewise practise fasting and mortification for periods of forty days,[9] the noviciate of the Mevlevi dervishes (a thousand and one days) is divided into periods of forty days.[10] There are forty Traditions of Mahommed[11] and so on.

As regards persons, again, we find in religion, corresponding to the secular groups of forty ogres, forty *djinns*, etc., numerous groups of forty saints. On the Christian side the most important are the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste[12] (Sivas), who met their death in a lake, still shewn in the sixteenth century,[1] near the town. Remains of the bath associated with their martyrdom are pointed out at the present day,[2] as are their reputed graves in an Armenian cemetery.[3]

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[1] Chaviaras in **Παρνασσός**, xiv. 537 ff.

[2] Halliday in *Folklore*, xxiii. 218.

[3] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. Pop. de l'Asie Mineure*, 308–310.

[4] *Ibid.* 315.

[5] *Ibid.* 324.

[6] *Ibid.* 305.

[7] Two references to Kúnos' *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Adakale* (pp. 84, 90), which I owe to Mr. Halliday, go far to prove that 'the Forty' without further definition are recognised in Turkish folklore as a band of spirits.

[8] Cf. *e.g.* Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, 229 (forty paces); Blunt, *People of Turkey*, ii. 257 (candle made from the fat of forty children); d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i. 241 (carrying a corpse forty paces to burial expiates forty sins); and *passim*.

[9] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii. 308.

[10] Huart, *Konia*, 203.

[11] D'Herbelot, s.v. *Arbain*. The use of the number forty occurs also in the ritual of the ancient Greeks, but seems to have been derived by them from a Semitic source (*Archiv f. Religionsw.* 1909, 227) just as it has been by modern Greece and Turkey, and to some extent by Latin Christianity; forty days' indulgences, *e.g.*, are common in the Roman Church.

[12] *Synax. CP.* Mar. 9.

Other groups of Forty Saints are connected with Sinai,[4] Adrianople,[5] and Melitene.[6] On the Mahommedan side occur the Forty Saints on Earth,[7] the Forty Abdals,[8] the Forty Victims,[9] the Forty Saints who appeared at S. Sophia,[10] the (localized) Forty Witnesses of the El Aksa Mosque at Jerusalem,[11] the Forty Companions of the Prophet at Damascus,[12] the Forty Saints of Tekrit (on the Tigris),[13] of Ramleh,[14] and of Yoroskeui on the Bosporus;[15] a group of forty female saints (Kirk Sultan) is worshipped near Akbaba, again on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus.[16] The idea of the Forty Saints has in it nothing strange for Mahommedans, so that it is natural to find them attracted rather than otherwise towards Christian cults bearing the name.

The Forty Saints of Sinai, though Christian, are said to have been held in special honour by the fanatical sultan Selim I.,[17] and of the numerous monasteries and churches dedicated to and containing relics of the Forty Saints of Sebaste at least one seems certainly to have been adopted into Islam under the name of Kirklar Tekke ('Convent of the Forty'). This sanctuary, at a village, probably the ancient *Sarin*, near Zela in Pontus, is still visited by Christian as well as Moslem pilgrims.[1] In Cyprus, conquered by the Turks only in 1571 and always largely Christian by population, there is also a Convent of the Forty (Kirklar Tekkesi). This sanctuary (near Nicosia) is likewise frequented both by Christians and Turks though outwardly Mahommedan.[2] Some at least of the Moslem Forties cited above may have had a similar Christian past; Tekrit in particular was a Christian centre with a great monastery as late as the tenth century,[3] and the Ramleh Forty are claimed by the Christians.

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[1] Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, 245.

[2] Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii. 225. A bath on the shore of the lake was heated to induce the freezing martyrs to recant and is usually depicted in the art-type of the Forty of Sebaste.

[3] From Mr. Ekisler of Smyrna. The Forty of Sebaste are reverenced by the Armenians, to whom they are known as *Karasoùn Manoùg*='Forty Children (of the Church. The 'Monastery of the Forty' at Sivas visited by Ainsworth (*Travels*, ii. 12) was probably Armenian. In the West they figure already among the early paintings of S. Maria Antiqua at Rome (*Papers B.S.R.* i. 109).

[4] Baedeker, *Syrien*, 205; Agnes Lewis, *Horae Semiticae*, iii.

[5] *Synax. CP.* Sept. 1. But *the* Forty Saints (of Sebaste) are celebrated at Adrianople on Mar. 9 as elsewhere (Θρᾳκικὴ Ἐπετηρίς, i. 32 ff.), and the monastery of Xeropotamos on Athos, which is specially connected with the Adrianople district, feasts on the same day.

[6] Procopius (*de Aed.* i. 7) mentions the finding of their remains at Constantinople. *Three* martyrs of Melitene are mentioned in the *Synaxarion* under date July 21; but the tradition of the Forty and a church said to contain their relics survive at Melitene (Malatia) itself (Texier, *Asie Mineure*, ii. 35). For other Christian Forties in Thrace (3) and Rome see Delehaye, *Culte des Martyrs*, 278, 281, 319.

[7] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i. 104.

[8] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i. 156.

[9] J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, 163.

[10] Evliya, *Travels* (tr. von Hammer), i.$_1$ 60.

[11] Baedeker, *Syrien*, 60.

[12] *Ibid.* 317; Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, ii. 120.

[13] G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, 217.

[14] Baedeker, *Syrien* 13.

[15] Evliya, *Travels*, i.$_2$ 73.

[16] F. W. H.

[17] P. Meyer, *Athos*, 65 ff. Though Selim was a fanatical *Sunni* Moslem he was rather conciliatory than otherwise to Christians owing, it was said, to the influence of a Greek wife. Cf. especially *Hist. Pol.* ap. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, 40; '*ἠνέωξε καὶ ναοὺς ἡμετέρους, οὕσπερ ἀπέκλεισεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ.*'

At Kirk Kilisse in Thrace there are traces of such a development. The name of the town is in all probability derived not, as would seem at first sight, from 'forty churches,' but from a church of the Forty Saints, perhaps those associated with the neighbouring town of Adrianople. The name and possibly also the site of this hypothetical church may be still commemorated by the modern and outwardly Moslem[4] 'Convent of the Forty' (Kirklar Tekke). Significant is the Turkish tradition that 'the true orthography of the name [of the town] is Kirk Kemsi, Forty Persons, because the town was once sanctified by being the residence of that number of holy men, to whom they have dedicated a small mosque or oratory.'[5]

If *Kirk Kilisse* stands really for *Kirklar Kilisse* it is obvious that other combinations may be interpreted in the same way. In particular Kirk Agatch, the name of a town near Pergamon and of a village in the Troad,[6] may be translated either simply 'Forty Trees' or 'Tree of the Forty.'

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[1] Grégoire in *B.C.H.* 1909, 25 ff. and *Stua. Pont.* iii. 243; cf. *Mél. Fac. Orient.* 1911, xxxviii.

[2] Hackett, *Church in Cyprus*, 421; Lukach, *Handbook of Cyprus* (1913), 47.

[3] Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, 57. Sachau (*Am Euphrat und Tigris*, 88) refers the Forty group of Tekrit to a Christian original.

[4] (F. W. H.) The 'Convent of the Forty' is mentioned and this derivation of the name of the town suggested by M. Christodoulos, **Ἡ Θρᾴκη**, 245. The modern town of Kirk Kilisse seems to have begun its existence as a road-station between Constantinople, Shoumla and Roustchouk: we know nothing of it in Byzantine times.

[5] Walsh, *Journey*, 147; cf. Frankland, *Travels*, i. 70, where the holy men are qualified as *Santons*.

[6] Tchihatcheff, *Bospore*, 381.

Sacred trees are common to Islam and Christianity and one such has certainly given its name to the Thracian port of Dedeagatch ('Saint's Tree').[1]

In the same category as the 'Convents of the Forty' falls the name of a village near Adalia called Kirk Djamisi ('Mosque of the Forty').[2] Here there are, so far as I know, no Christian traditions.

The task of deciding between Christian and Moslem claims in such cases is, in view of the popularity of the 'Forty-Saint' group in both religions, very difficult. We have also to consider the third possibility that places named after the Forty were originally associated not with saints at all, but merely with secular figures, brigands, ogres, *djinns*, *peris*, etc., as the Caves of the Forty near Indje Sou in Cappadocia are connected with forty *djinns*.[3] It is in fact most often impossible owing to lack of evidence to attribute the places named after the various forties to their rightful owners. Certain legends of various 'forties' were in the air, and became attached for accidental or arbitrary reasons to certain localities. Christian 'forties' and their haunts are more likely than the others to attract the notice of western travellers. In some cases, as at Sarin in Pontus, the Christian pedigree may be regarded as proved; in others, *e.g.* the Kirklar Dagh above Amasia, an old city in the district of Sebaste, it is probable; in others again, like Hadji Khalfa's Kirklar Dagh near Boli,[4] nothing approaching certainty can be reached. On general grounds we may perhaps prefer to give the Forties in the radius of Sebaste (Sivas) to Christianity, and possibly to make a tentative division assigning probable religious sites, such as ruined churches, and especially sites on lakes, since in the case of the Forty of Sebaste a lake was the scene of their martyrdom,[5] to Christian saints. Caves on the other hand are rather attributable, but not exclusively, to the secular figures; mountains are equally suited for both categories of Forties. But the character of each individual site must be decided on its own evidence.

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[1] At Constantinople the great plane-tree with seven trunks near Boyouk Dere is called Kirk Agatch (Byzantios, **Κωνσταντινούπολις**, ii. 157) as well as 'the Seven Brothers.' There seems to be a place called 'Forty Cypresses' near Eyoub (Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, ii. 37; Prokesch, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i. 430), and inside the city is a 'Forty Fountain' (*Kirk Cheshme*) or 'Fountain of the Forty' (Murray's *Constantinople*, 52). Further investigation may (or may not) bring these sites into connection with the cult of the Forty Martyrs, who were venerated at the capital as elsewhere (Ducange, *CP. Christiana*, iv. pp. 134 f.).

[2] *B.S.A.* xvii. 221: here the possessive case of *Djami* shews that the *Kirk* is used substantivally. Kirk Djamisi is an ancient, but not, to judge from the inscriptions, a Christian site.

[3] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. Pop.* 357.

[4] Tr. Armain, in Vivien de S. Martin's *Asie Mineure*, ii. 718.

[5] The lake of Beyshehr was, probably on this account, named after the Forty Martyrs in mediaeval times.

As to the origins and development of Christian cults of the Forty Saints an instructive illustration, shewing the extreme fluidity of folk-tradition in such matters, is to be found near Caesarea in Cappadocia. Here Paul Lucas[1] was shewn a crypt containing numerous bones, some of which were undecayed. This crypt seems to have been discovered by Christians, by whom it was associated with a group of Forty Virgin Martyrs. We may surmise that sainthood was predicated from the preservation of the bones, the traditional number Forty from their quantity, and their sex from some accidental circumstance, such as a dream.[2] At the present day this sanctuary has been brought into line with better-known traditions, and service is celebrated in it on the feastday of the Forty (male) Martyrs of Sebaste.[3]

For Christians every site marked by the discovery of a 'tomb of the Forty' would form a new centre of the cult, sending offshoots into the district. This is best shewn in the case of Sebaste, from which the actual relics of the Forty Martyrs were widely distributed.[4] For the Mysian group,[5] if these 'Forties' are of Christian origin,[6] we can as yet point to no centre. For the Carian 'Forties' the following explanation may be offered.

In Rhodes, as we learn from the Pilgrimage of Grünemberg (1486), there was a Church of the Forty Martyrs with a vault containing not forty but twenty sarcophagi. This formed no obstacle to the pious credulity of the Rhodians, who assigned two saints to each sarcophagus. The relics were eventually thrown into the sea by the Turks.[1] It is possibly to this centre that we may affiliate the 'Forties' of the opposite mainland. At the site called Saranda near Loryma there is a tradition and some equivocal ruins of a church.[2] Of the ancient tomb near Knidos[3] no Christian traditions are recorded. Neither place is known to the mediaeval cartographers by the name of Saranda, which is consistent with our theory. Anyone familiar with the *motifs* used in Greek hagiology can imagine with what readiness bones thrown up by the sea on this coast after the sacrilegious act of the Turks would be connected by Christian populations with the Forty Saints of Rhodes.

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[1] *Voyage en Grèce* (Amsterdam, 1714), i. 139.

[2] It is probable that this was due to the Armenian Christians, always an important element in the population of Caesarea; the legend of Etchmiadzin as given by Rycaut (*Greek and Armenian Churches*, 398 ff.) speaks of a band of seventy virgin missionaries to Armenia of whom forty died on their way thither, cf. Tavernier, *Six Voyages*, I. iii.; Tournefort, letter xix; Tchamich, *Hist. of Armenia*, i. 161, where the number is given as thirty-seven.

[3] Cuinet, *Asie Mineure*, i. 310; Murray's *Asia Minor*, 51; Bernardakis' account in *Échos d'Orient*, xi. (1908) 25, shews that the tradition of female saints is still current: (Qerqlar) 'on y voit un grand nombre de croix gravées sur le paroi d'un rocher vertical. La légende raconte que au temps des persécutions quarante jeunes filles chrétiennes s'étaient cachées dans une anfractuosité de rocher qui se trouve vis-à-vis et y avaient trouvé la mort. Les Chrétiens y viennent en pélérinage le jour de la fête de Quarante Martyrs de Sébaste.'

[4] Delehaye, *Le Culte des Martyrs*, 73.

[5] *I.e.* the two 'Kirklar' sites mentioned above (p. 221) and possibly the two 'Kirk Agatch' sites cited on p. 224.

[6] There is some slight presumption for this in the fact that a coast-village *SS. Quaranta* is marked near Lectum on the Italian portulans (Tomaschek, *Sitzber. Wien. Ak.* CXXIV. viii. 17).

At the same time 'forty' cults can arise independently of such distributing centres. Cesnola was shewn near Cape Pyla in Cyprus a cave containing a quantity of bones, which his guide said were those of forty saints: 'Up to within a few years ago it had been the custom of the peasants to make a pilgrimage to this cave accompanied by their priests on the anniversary of the ninth of March [the feast of the Forty of Sebaste], but the Greek archbishop of Cyprus . . . had ordered these pilgrimages to be discontinued.'[4]

An abandoned Christian sanctuary of 'the Forty' in a Turkish district might become either secularised and considered a haunt of forty *djinns*, or, as at Sarin, mahommedanised; its fate would largely depend on the supposed attitude (maleficent or beneficent) of its supernatural occupants towards the Turkish population.[5] But this hypothetical development does not preclude the possibility of a Turkish sanctuary of the Forty Saints having been from its origin Mahommedan, or a haunt of the forty *djinns* having been from its origin secular.

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[1] Ed. Goldfriedrich, 52:—Danach ritten wir zu einer Kirche, liegt am Meer, geheissen: zu den Vierzig Märtyrern. Daselbst standen in einem tiefen Gewolbe noch zwanzig steinerne Särge: da haben immer die genannten Heiligen je zwei nebeneinander in einem gelegen. Und wohl ein halb Jahr vor dem waren die Türken in der Kirche gewesen und brachen die Särge auf und warfen der lieben Heiligen Gebeine in das Meer und zerschlugen und zerstachen alle geschnittenen und gemalten Bilder.

[2] **Παρνασσός**, xiv. 537 ff.

[3] *Folklore*, xxiii. 28.

[4] *Cyprus*, 183.

[5] So, *e.g.*, in free Greece a Turkish *dede* named Delikli Baba ('Old Man of the Hole') at Pylos is accepted as originally a Christian saint, while his namesake at Nauplia becomes a specialised form of the 'Guardian Arab' demon common in Greco-Turkish folklore (Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, 209, 246). In all probability both 'saints' were originally Turkish 'pierced-stone' or cave cults anthropomorphised; one of them, and not the other, was evidently frequented with happy results by a Christian *clientèle*.

F. W. HASLUCK.

POSTSCRIPT.

I greatly regret that Dr. Roscher's learned essays on the number Forty among the Semites (*Abh. k. Sächs. Gesellschaft, Phil. Hist. Cl.* 1909, art. iv.) and among the Greeks (*Verh. k. Sächs. Ges., Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, lxi., art. ii.) came to my notice too late for reference to be made to them in the text. Happily for me, my own work has no pretensions to covering the same ground as Dr. Roscher's, to which it may be regarded as complementary.—F. W. H.

THE MASTER OF THE STROGANOFF NIKOXENOS VASE.[1]

I owe my thanks to Mr. L. D. Caskey, Dr. Köster, Mons. Pottier, Dr. Sieveking, Mr. A. H. Smith, Dr. Waldhauer, and Dr. Staïs and Prof. Wolters for allowing me to publish vases in Boston, Berlin, Paris, Munich, London, St. Petersburg and Athens.

Missing or repainted in the originals: Fig. 2, parts of sleeve; lower part of himation, calf and heel: Fig. 7, right shoulder; Pl. XVII. 1, part of r. sleeve and breast, and part of ear.

INTRODUCTION.

THE pictures on pp. 230, 231 (Figs. 1, 2) are taken from a red-figured amphora of Panathenaic shape in the Louvre (G 61). They are more curious than comely, but if devoid of merit they are not devoid of interest. Let us put them beside the pictures on p. 233 (Figs. 3, 4), which come from a vase in Count Stroganoff's collection. The lower part of the dress and the sandalled feet are almost line for line the same in both vases; the altars are the same except in one small detail: notice carefully the sleeve in Fig. 1, and compare it with the sleeve in Fig. 4. Other resemblances will strike the eye, but it will be enough to mention one: is there not something odd about the perpendicular fold-lines on the chiton in Fig. 4? in archaic drawing, perpendicular folds go right on until they meet a transverse line; but here they stop of their own accord at Athena's waist: now the grouped folds on the sleeve of Fig. 2 behave in the same obstinate way.

The Louvre vase G 61 has a pendant in the Louvre vase G 60, which is figured by Pottier in his *Album*, Pl. 95. The subjects are similar: on *A* of G 61, Athena bending at an altar, holding a spear and a flower; on *A* of G 62, Athena bending at an altar, holding a wreath and a spray of smilax; on *B* of G 61, a woman worshipper at an altar, holding a

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[1] I gave a list of the Nikoxenos master's works in *B.S.A.* xviii. p. 233, note. The present list adds three items, Nos. 11 12 and 13.

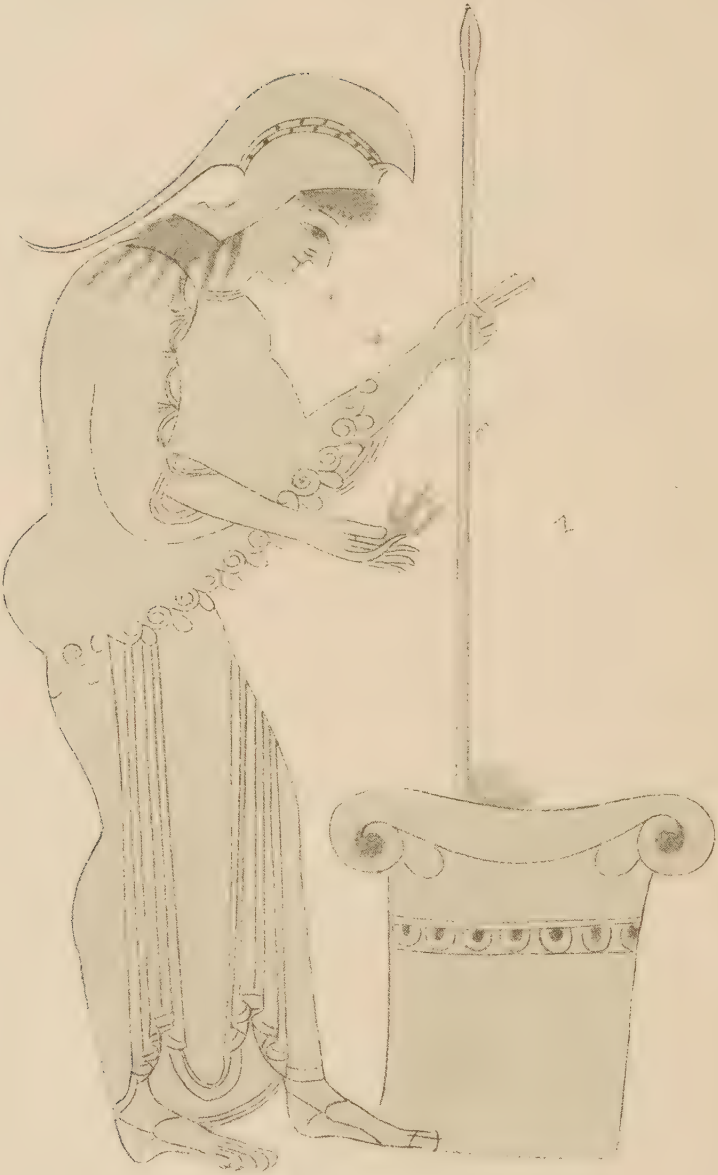


FIG. 1.—FIGURE OF ATHENA FROM AN AMPHORA OF PANATHENAIC SHAPE IN THE LOUVRE (G 61). *A.*

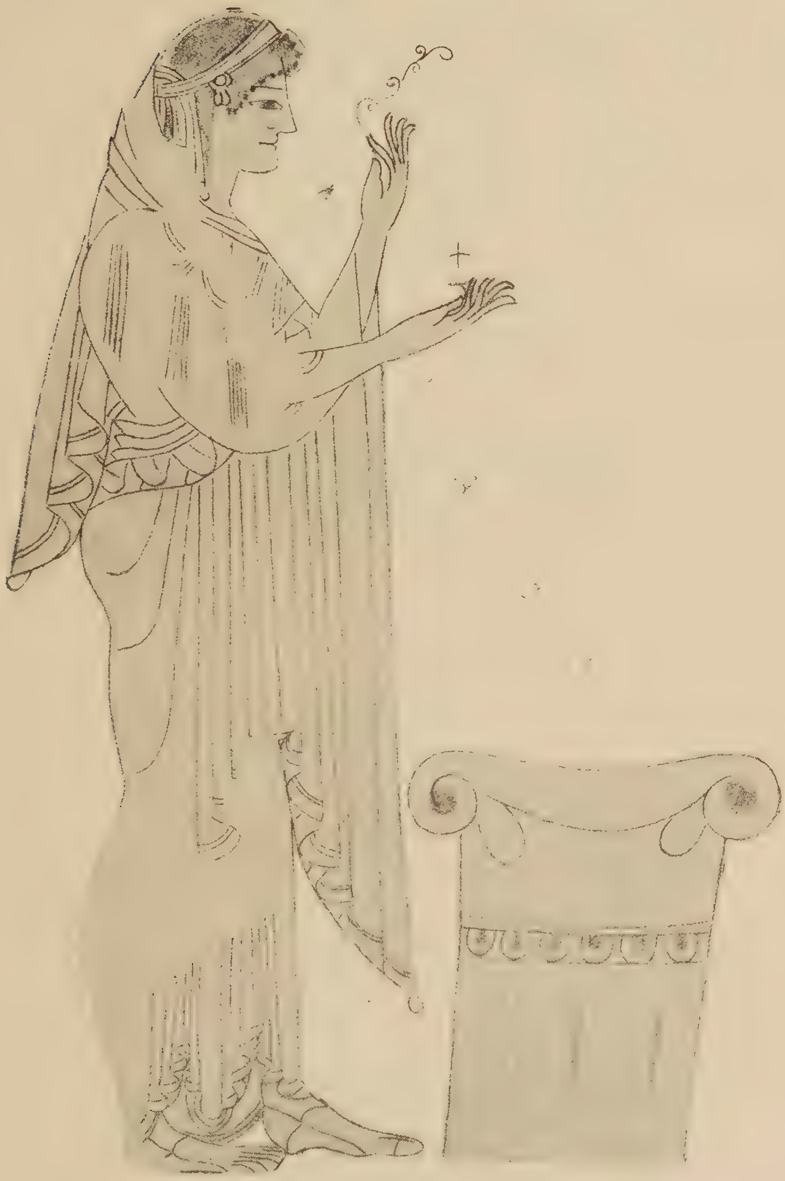
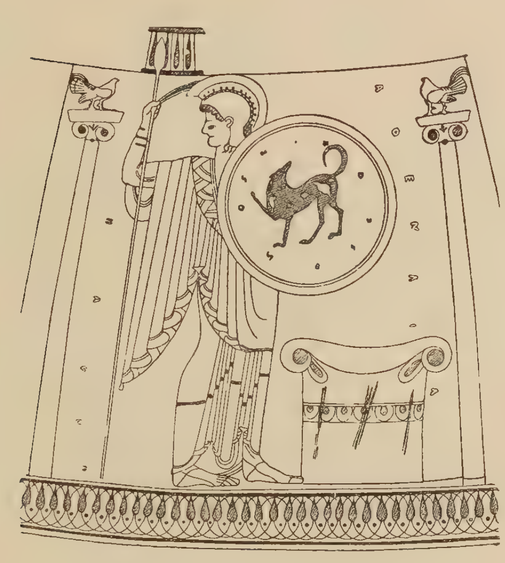
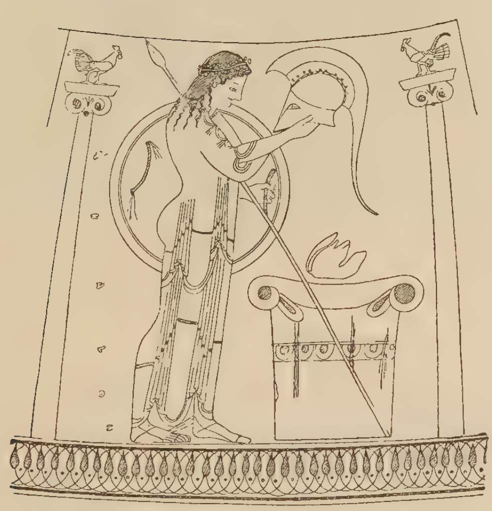


FIG. 2.—FEMALE FIGURE FROM AN AMPHORA OF PANATHENAIC SHAPE IN THE LOUVRE (G 61). *B.*

smilax spray; on *B* of G 60, a man worshipper at an altar, holding a phiale. But similarity of subject does not mean identity of authorship: let us look rather at the lines of the sleeve beside the elbow, the sandalled feet and the lower part of the dress, the drawing of the aegis, and in the original, the faces, hands, and what not. Plate XVI. 1, 2 shows a third amphora of Panathenaic shape, this one in Boston: look again at the lower part of the dress, the sandalled feet, the sleeve: and compare the columns with the columns on the Stroganoff vase. A fourth vase of the same shape is presented on Plate XVII. 1; the original is in Berlin. Here are the same cock-columns as on the Boston and Stroganoff vases; the capital is exactly the same in all three. The altar is of the familiar type; the sleeve of the kitharode on the reverse of the vase, which is not figured here, is the sleeve we have noticed on all the above-named vases; the feet are the same, but not sandalled; the lower part of Athena's dress as before, except in this one respect, that the three curved lines which round the farther edge of the dress are replaced by a single row of black arcs. Now let us turn to a larger vase, an amphora in Munich (Plate XVIII. 1, 2): we find no fewer than fourteen examples of our favourite sleeve; in the figures of Apollo, Dionysos, and Athena, the lower part of the dress is drawn as on the Berlin vase: the upper edge of the himation is to be compared with the Stroganoff himation: the single black line on the forearm of Zeus with the forearm line on Louvre G 60: the very ugly faces we have seen already: and here are the sandals again. The last vase I shall mention at present is the British Museum hydria (Plates XIX. 1, 2, XVII. 2, and Fig. 5), drawing particular attention to Athena's sleeve, to the faces and ears, to the short thick brown lines on the warriors' necks, comparing the lines on Apollo's neck in the Munich vase; and to the right hand seated youth on the shoulder, comparing him with Poseidon on the same.

I think it will be clear from these comparisons that these seven vases are the work of a single painter, whom I shall call for convenience the master of the Stroganoff vase with NIKoXSENoS KALoS; for these words are written on the obverse of the Stroganoff vase: and for short, the Nikoxenos master. It happens that the name Nikoxenos does not occur on any other vase hitherto discovered. It by no means follows, that if a second vase with that inscription comes to light, it will be by the master of our Stroganoff vase; but for the present, the name Nikoxenos master will do





FIGS. 3, 4.—FIGURES OF ATHENA FROM A VASE IN ST. PETERSBURG, STROGANOFF COLLECTION
(after Klein, *Liebl.* p. 121).
FIG. 3 (*A*), FIG. 4 (*B*).

as well as any other: the name matters nothing at all, the person does matter. I shall give a list of his works, and then briefly describe his manner of drawing and his relation to other vase painters.

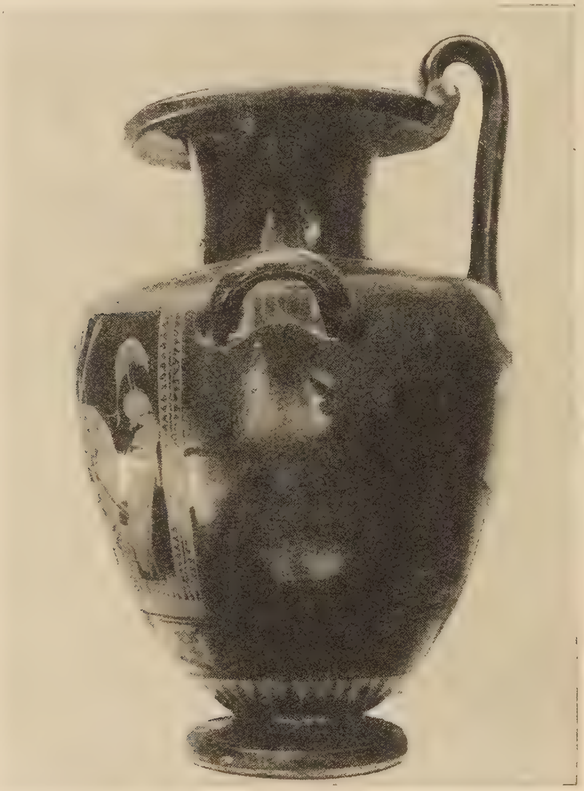


FIG. 5.—HYDRIA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (E 160).

CATALOGUE.

I.—*Amphorae of Panathenaic shape.*

Ordinary mouth, handles and foot.

I *a.* The pictures framed: above them α; at sides, β; below, γ. (For patterns see Fig. 10, p. 242).

On the neck, δ. At the base, rays.

I have not seen 1, and I have no information about its side-patterns, neck and base.

1. St. Petersburg, coll. Count Stroganoff. (Figs. 3, 4.) Klein, *Lieblingsinschriften*, p. 121. *A*. Athena. *B*. Athena.

2. Boston. (Pl. XVI.) Chase, *Harvard Studies*. *A*. Athena. *B*. Athena.

3. Berlin, 2161. (*A*) (Pl. XVII. 1.) *A*. Athena playing kithara. *B*. Young Kitharode.

I *b*. No frame; no rays at base. On the neck of 4, rf. palmettes: 5's neck black.

4. Louvre, G 60. Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 95. *A*. Athena. *B*. Man at altar.

5. Louvre, G 61. (Figs. 1, 2.) *A*. Athena. *B*. Woman at altar.

II.—*Amphorae*. (Shape, Furtw., *cat.* No. 35).

6–7: Foot in two degrees. Ivied handles. Framed pictures: above them, δ; sides, β; below, γ. Rays at base. Bf. palmette at each handle.

I have no information about foot, handles, base, or patterns of 8, except that the side-pattern is β as on 6 and 7.

6. Louvre, G 46. Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 93. *A*. Departure of warrior. *B*. Dionysos with Silens and Maenads.

7. Munich, 2304 (Jahn, 405.) (Pl. XVIII.) *A* only, Gerhard, *A. V.* Pl. 7; *Rev. Arch.* 1912, p. 56. Reichhold has drawings. *A*. Gods. *B*. Gods.

8. Once Paris, Canessa. Sambon, *Vases antiques de terre cuite, Collection Canessa* (Paris, 1904–5), p. 62 and Pl. 15. (*A*), Fig. 6, from the text drawing: the plate I have not seen, as my copy of the catalogue lacks the plates. *A*. Death of Priam. *B*. Death of Priam.

III.—*Kalyx-krater.* (Shape, Furtw. No. 40.)

Fragmentary. Above, η; below, ζ. At each handle a design of rf. palmettes.

9. Athens, Acropolis collection, G 1. *A*. Fight. *B*. Youths and horses. On the lower part of the vase; *A*, between palmettes, kneeling Silen: *B*, male figure lying on cushion.

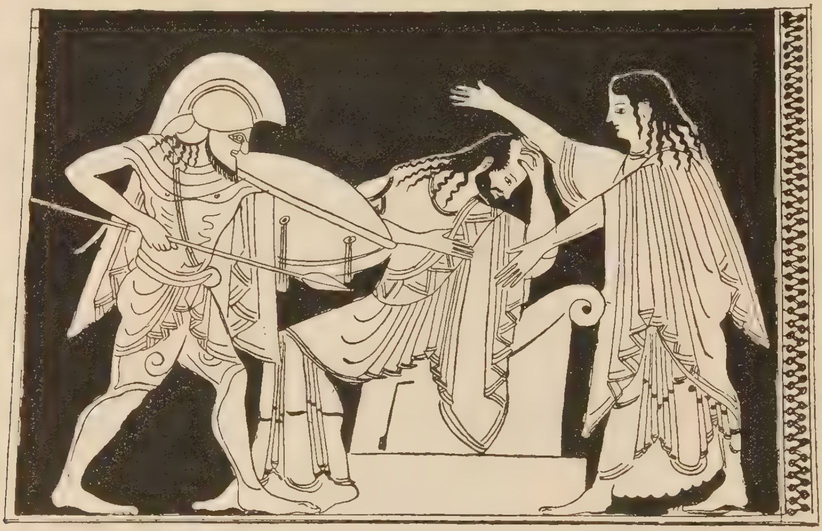


FIG. 6.—DEATH OF PRIAM FROM AN AMPHORA FORMERLY IN PARIS, CANESSA COLLECTION
(after Sambon, *Coll. Canessa*, p. 62). (*A.*)

IV.—*Hydria of black-figure shape.* (Shape, Furtw. No. 31.)

Mouth and foot simple discs: both black. Back-handle convex: red discs at base of back-handle. The pictures framed: above the shoulder picture, α; at its sides, β; below it, ϵ: at sides of main picture, η; below it, γ. Rays at base.

10. British Museum, E 160. (Pls. XIX. 1, 2, XVII. 2, and Fig. 5.) Warriors dicing, with Athena. On the shoulder, between two seated youths, a youth mounting a chariot.

V.—*Hydriai-kalpides.* (Shape, Furtw. No. 41.)

The picture on the shoulder, framed. Mouth and foot simple discs. 11–13: above, beside and below the picture, β: below that, from handle to handle, γ. 14: above and beside the picture, β: below it, ϵ.

11. St. Petersburg. Drawing in the Berlin apparatus, 22.19.1. Dionysos, Silen and panther. 1. Dionysos seated r. with kantharos and branches: 2. Silen moving l., a pointed amphora on his back, plunging an oinochoe into a column-krater which stands on the ground in front of him: 3. panther sitting l., head frontal. From the Depoletti, Gourieff and Abasa collections.

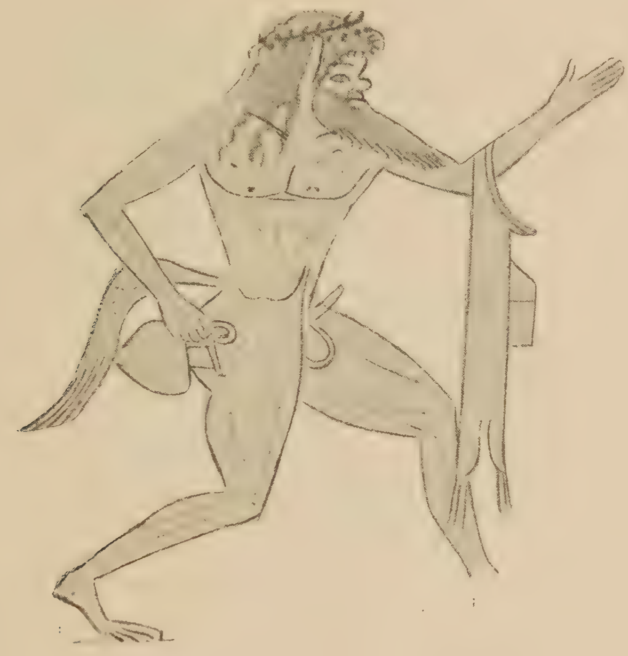


FIG. 7.—FROM A HYDRIA IN ST. PETERSBURG.

12. St. Petersburg. Detail, Fig. 7: drawing in the Berlin apparatus, 22.9. Herakles and Silen. 1. Silen running r. with oinochoe: 2. Herakles lying on the ground, facing l., holding kantharos; his club beside him; in

the field between 1 and 2 his bow and quiver. From the Gourieff and Abasa collections.

13. St. Petersburg, 626. Detail, Fig. 8. Athletes. 1. Youth r., holding (sponge?): 2. youth sitting on ground with l. leg frontal, binding thongs on hand: 3. youth kneeling l., sponging leg.

14. Würzburg, 140. Athletes. 1. Youth running r. looking back: 2. youth running r: 3. youth l., leaning back with arms raised: 4. youth moving r. with akontion.

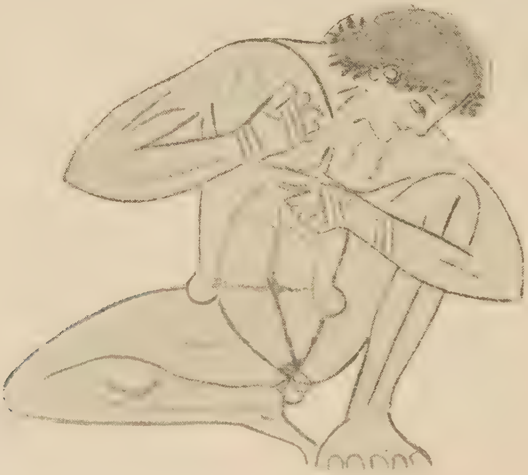


FIG. 8.—FROM A HYDRIA IN ST. PETERSBURG.

VI.—*Fragments, probably of stamnos.*

15. Athens, Acropolis collection, G 227 *a–b*. G 227*a*: athlete with halteres: Fig. 9. G 227 *b*: head of boxer.

VII.—*Fragments of volute-krater.*

16. Oxford, inv. G 136.36 and G 138.40. Two small fragments of pictures on upper part of neck. Komos.

I must first explain why I have classed the Stroganoff vase under the heading 'amphorae of Panathenaic shape.' Klein (*Liebl.* p. 120) describes it as a *pelike*, on the authority I take it, of a note on the drawing in the

German Institute at Rome from which his cuts are reproduced. Now everyone knows that the designations of vase shapes are often vague or false, not only in the nineteenth century, but in our own time. I have not been able to see the Stroganoff vase, but I feel sure that it is not a pelike; and for this reason, that no pelike has *tongue* ornament above the picture. The tongue ornament is of course one of the commonest of all Greek vase patterns; but it is solely what may be called a *junction* pattern, that is, it is only used to emphasise the junction of one member of the vase with another, of neck with body, of handle with body, of body with foot, and so forth. Now the picture on a pelike does not touch any such junction, because in the pelike the neck is not separate from the body. The Stroganoff vase cannot be a pelike. It might be a neck amphora, but considering the subjects of the pictures, it ought to be an amphora of Panathenaic shape. I shall therefore hold it to be such.

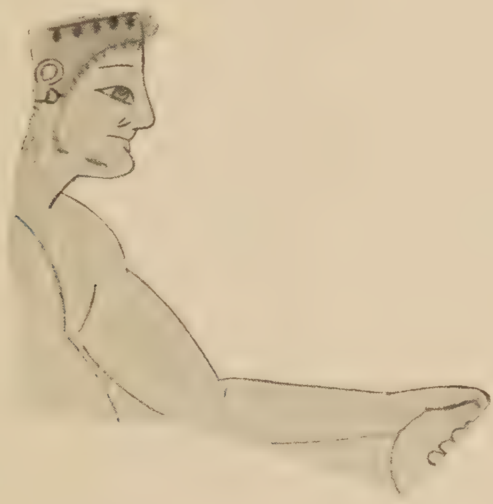


FIG. 9.—FRAGMENT IN ATHENS (ACROPOLIS G 227 *a*).

We may then take it that we have five amphorae of Panathenaic shape from the hand of the Nikoxenos master, and this group of five holds an important place in the history of this vase form: on which a word must be said.

A great many black-figured imitations of the Panathenaic prize amphora exist; and the shape is common in red-figure work of the severe period: there are a few examples in the early free style,[1] then the shape disappears from Attic red-figure painting until the fourth century. The earliest rf. vases of this shape separate themselves without any trouble into two groups, the first consisting of our five, the second of two vases in Athens, Nos. 1689 and 1688, by a single painter, contemporary with these, but of smaller size and of much finer execution. Now Athens 1689[2] is an imitation in miniature of the bf. prize amphora: the patterns are the same, and the subjects the same, Athena Promachos on one side, and a pair of boxers on the other: only, the cock-columns[3] are omitted and an altar added on *A*. Athens, 1688, has Athena Promachos again, again with altar and without columns, but facing right instead of left: *B* is lost. These two vases, then, stand in a very strict relation to the bf. prize amphora and its bf. imitations. When we turn to the Nikoxenos master group, we find that this relation is still preserved but is less strict. Athena figures on all five vases, though never in the Promachos attitude; and on three of the five, the painter has reproduced the prize amphora's cock-columns. 1, 2 and 3 have framed pictures, but the frame is not the prize amphora's tongue, line, and line. 4 and 5 have cast the frame away, so that the figures stand free and isolated against the black body of the vase. In the history of rf. vase-painting, there is a continual conflict between these two artistic ideas, framed and unframed pictures: in the rf. Panathenaic amphora it is the unframed picture that wins the day. Apart from our 1, 2, and 3, and the two Athens vases, we have only three rf. vases of this shape with framed pictures.[4] Of the rest, the majority have only a band of pattern below each picture, and some of these a band of tongues above it as well; a few vases have like our Nos. 4–5, no patterns on the body at all.

Nos. 2 and 3 in our list have a bf. palmette and bud pattern on the neck, like the bf. prize amphora and the Athens vases. 4 and 5 have broken this link with their original: 4 has red-figured palmettes on the neck, and 5 a plain black neck. All these three treatments of the neck are found on the later rf. vases of this shape; but the plain black neck is the most common.

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[1] None can be called later than two vases in the style of the Master of the Naples Amazonomachy krater, FR. Pll. 26–28: namely, a vase from South Russia in St. Petersburg (*A*. Athena and young warrior: *B*. man with twig and youth with oinochoe and kantharos), and another formerly in the Laborde collection (*Él. Cér.* 2, Pl. 90–91).

[2] Benndorf, *Gr. u. sic. vb.* Pl. 31. 2: Collignon-Couve, *Cat.* Pl. 42, No. 1169.

[3] For the cock-columns, see von Brauchitsch, *Die Panathenäischen Preisamphoren*, pp. 106 ff.

[4] Vatican *Mus. Greg.* Pl. 58. 2 (one of the earliest works by the Berlin master (see *J.H.S.* xxxi, p. 280); B.M. E 259; Bologna 154 (Zannoni, *Scavi della certosa*, Pl. 83, 1–3).

Lastly, at the base, 2 and 3, like the Athens vases, have a band of rays; 4 and 5 none. Again, it is the plain base that is far the more common in the later rf. Panathenaic amphorae.

Now that it has been shown what a peculiar position the Nikoxenos master occupies in the story of the red-figured amphora of Panathenaic shape, let us turn to the other vase-shapes and see how he stands to his fellows in each.

In dealing with his amphorae, let us confine our attention to Nos. 6 and 7, because the pattern and the exact shape of 8 are not known to me. The shape of 6 and 7 is the ordinary severe amphora shape. The frame is the same in both vases: the only other amphora on which I find this frame is the earlier amphora in Boston, which is in the style of Andokides (*Am. J. A.* 1896, pp. 40–41). The patterns are simple black-figure ones, the palmette at each handle also black. The two amphorae share with Munich 2306, the Herakles and Kerberos amphora, the distinction of being far the worst rf. vases of this shape until we reach the very end of the severe period; then rivals appear. Munich 2306 bears some resemblance to our master's amphorae, but is by a different artist.

The Kalyx-krater No. 9 in our list is important, because of its decorative scheme. In addition to the main pictures, it has smaller pictures on the lower part between the base and the handles. Now subsidiary pictures are often found on other rf. vase-shapes; they are regular, for instance, on the shoulder of the oldest kind of rf. hydria, the hydria of bf. shape; and they are frequent in the volute-krater. But in the kalyx-krater they are very rare; to be precise, they occur on two other rf. kalyx-kraters, and on one bf. kalyx-krater.[1] The two rf. vases are by one painter, and that painter is, as will be seen later, the pupil of our master. It is worth noticing, also, that our No. 9, the earliest of the three rf. vases, has but a single figure in this place on each side, the space being filled up by flanking palmettes: one of the other two vases has two, the other three figures on each side, the palmettes having disappeared. Just in the same way, most of the earliest red-figured cups have a single figure between palmettes on each side of the exterior, but later the figures multiply and the palmettes recede or vanish.

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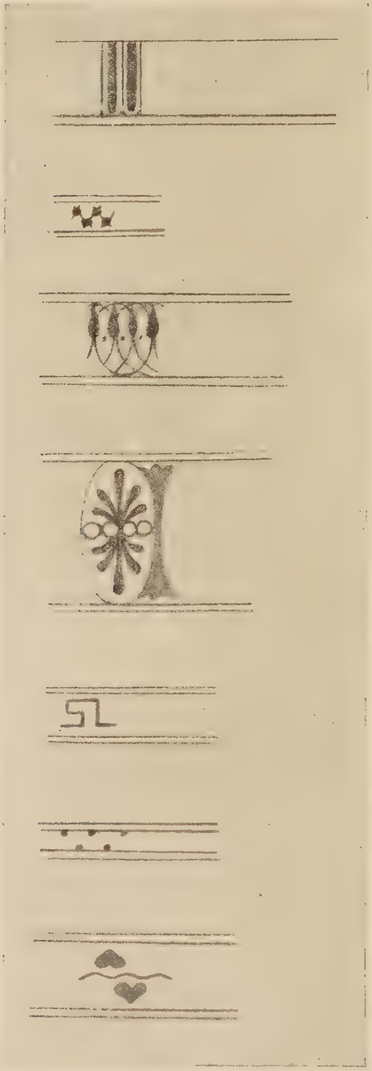
[1] v.p. 236: *B.S.A.* xviii, p. 225.

The hydria of bf. shape No. 10 has the simple rim and foot which are usual in the earlier rf. examples of this vase form. The convex back-handle is also not uncommon, although a ridged handle is more usual.



No.	*Patterns.*	*Used on Vases.*
α		1, 2, 3, 10.
β		2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.
γ		1, 2, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13.
δ		6, 7.
ϵ		10, 14.
ζ		9.
η		9, 10.

FIG. 10.—DIAGRAM SHOWING PATTERNS USED ON VASES BY THIS MASTER.

The tongue, net, and key patterns which frame the shoulder picture are common enough in these places, but neither the ivy at the sides of the main picture, nor the lotus-bud below it is found on other rf. hydriai of this shape. (Fig. 10.)

Finally, the four small hydriai-kalpides with picture on the shoulder have the same simple mouth and foot as the last vase, and as nearly all the early severe hydriai-kalpides of the kind. The scheme of the frame on 11, 12, 13:—net on all sides of the picture, and below that a band of lotus-bud—is found on three other vases of this shape.[1]

THE STYLE OF THE NIKOXENOS MASTER.

The ear has either the form seen in Fig. 2, or, with one arc instead of two where the lobe is, that seen in Pl. XVII. 2. The first and the more peculiar form is found on Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 15: both forms are used side by side on 6, 10, and 13. In smaller figures the ear is sometimes simplified to a mere shell; so on 10, 11, 13, and 14: on 10 and 14 all three forms are found.

The outline of the face is drawn with relief-lines: the face is coarse and crude, the nose heavy and pointed, the mouth is almost or quite straight and sometimes slopes down sharply towards the cheek. The eye is large and sometimes closed at both ends; the big black dot is replaced on three vases by the dot and circle (3, 15, and in one figure on 12). The eyebrow is shorter and less arched than usual. The nostril is often marked; either by a black semicircle (3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 15: brown on 5) or by the curving black lines (4, 5, 15).

There are but two instances of the frontal collar-bone (12 and 13); the drawing is the same in both (see Figs. 7 and 8). The great ugly bulge of the profile chest, seen in the boy on 6, recurs on 9. At the junction of the lower breast-lines there is usually a short straight black line (7, 9, 12, 13, 14): this line is missing on two figures, one on 9, the other on 12; in both vases it appears on other figures. The furrow over the breast-bone is rendered by two black lines on 13 and 14, by one on 7 and 9; and on 12 one figure has the two-line, the other the one-line rendering.

The two brown lines, concave to each other, on the breast of 15 (Fig. 9), occur again on 12 and 13. The nipple is usually omitted: but on 12 it is rendered in brown. The iliac furrow also is usually left out (6, 11, 13); two different renderings appear on 7, but the form on 12 seems to reappear on 8. The linea alba from navel to pubes is black in both examples (9 and 13), the navel being brown like the rest of the torso markings. The lines seen on the profile trunk in 12 recur on 13, and apparently on 8. The upper arm has two brown lines convex to each other (10, 12, 13, 15). The forearm has a single brown line on 12 and 13, two lines on 9, 10 and 15; but more characteristic is the single *black* line on the forearm in 3, 4, 7 (Zeus), 13, and, I suppose, 8.

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[1] Vatican, *Mus. Greg.* Pl. 12. 1: Rouen (Herakles and lion): Louvre G 52.

The foot seen from the outside. The commonest way of drawing the toes, by black arcs concave to the sole, may be seen on *B* of 5 (Fig. 2): on *A* of 5 the lower side of the toes is drawn as well as the upper: the first form is found on 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13; the second on 5, 6, 7. On 11 and 14 the toes are not marked, and in one or more figures on 9, 10 and 13. The ankle is marked on 10 and 13 only, in both by rough brown lines of varying shape. The frontal foot flat on the ground occurs once, on 13 (Fig. 8), and a three-quarter foot in a falling figure on 9; in both these feet the toes are marked by black semicircles.

The master likes to put sandals on the feet of his figures, and these sandals are drawn, not in brown or red, but with black relief-lines; the form of these lines is constant and invariable, as may be proved by a careful comparison of 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7.

The outline of the hair is always reserved; the line is generally wavy, and large round dots edge it at the forehead; besides simple short hair, and simple long hair, the only coiffure used is that worn by Athena on 10.

The first point to notice about the clothes is the odd rendering of the sleeve at the elbow; this rendering is found on 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11: the bounding lines are usually three in number; four on 2, and two on 11. The drawing of the sleeve on the upper arm and shoulder is the same on 5 (Figs. 1, 2), 1, 3, 7. I have already alluded to the groups of *detached* perpendicular folds (p. 228); such groups are found on 1, 5, 7, 11. Let us observe the drapery of 1 (Figs. 1, 2) still closer: the lower part of the chiton is drawn in the same way on 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8: the three long black curved lines, indicating the lower edge of the dress beyond the legs, reappear on 2 and 5; the alternative rendering is a series of single semicircular arcs (3, 7, 8). In Athena on 10, the lower part of the dress is rendered in a still more archaic fashion; Dionysos' dress, on 11, is bounded in a similar way. Now look at the upper edge of the himation on 1, and compare it with the same part on 4, 5, 7, 8, 11: with the shape of the himation on *A* of 1, compare 2, 5, and 7 (Apollo and Dionysos): with the kolpos on *B* of 1, compare 4.

Turning to 3 (Pl. XVII. 1), look at the loose part of the himation which falls from one shoulder, and place beside it the like parts on 7 (Poseidon), and 10 (seated figure on right of the smaller picture). These two seated figures are closely similar, and a third such is found on 9: all three figures have the same disposition of fold-lines and in all three the hand lies along the leg inside the himation. At the neck, the chiton is bounded by three black lines (1 ?, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10); by two on the small vase 11. The reader must have been struck by the appearance of thigh armour on 10, for it is very rare in red-figured vases; but it appears again both on 6 and on 8. I have already drawn attention to the likeness of the columns on 1, 2 and 3; and of the altars on 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

In my paper on the Eucharides master, published in the last number of the *Annual*,[1] I conjectured that painter to be a pupil of the Nikoxenos master. Such conjectures are often hazardous; but this one is I think most certain, and for the following reasons.

Like the Nikoxenos master, the Eucharides master has two main types of ear; one with a double lobe, the other with a single: and the double-lobed ear is rare on Greek vases. The lines which make the profile are very like in both; there is the same sharp nose, the same way of forming the lips, and the nostril when marked is the same full semicircle. One of the most characteristic things in the Nikoxenos master's treatment of the clothes is that rendering of the lower parts of the sleeve which I have twice mentioned: now the sleeve of all sleeves which is most like the Nikoxenos master's is Poseidon's on the British Museum hydria E 174, a work of the Eucharides master. The short straight black line at the junction of the lower breast-lines is as common in the one as in the other. The ankle in both is lightly indicated, if at all; never in black, if at all, in brown. The navel-pubes line is black in both, the navel being brown: black navel-pubes line with black navel is common enough in vase-painting; but the first black with the second brown by no means common. The brown lines on the breast, mentioned on p. 243, are also found on the Eucharides master's work.

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[1] *B.S.A.* xviii. pp. 217 ff. To the 23 works there assigned to the Eucharides-master I am now able to add the following. 24: Kalpis with picture on the body, from South Russia, in St. Petersburg: Nike flying with tripod. 25: Kalpis with picture on the body, in Athens (1482: Heydemann, *Gr. vasenbilder*, Pl. 7. 1): Cheiron. The following are both in the Acropolis collection at Athens: 26. G 7, fragments of volute-krater with picture on the neck: symposion. 27. G 288, fragment, convex; youth, and arm with helmet.

The male nipples in both are made of brown arcs. The one female nipple in the Nikoxenos master's work (Athena's on 7) is drawn separately from the black curving line of the breast: and that is how the Eucharides master draws the female nipple. Compare the legs on Fig. 7 with the legs on *B.S.A.* xviii. p. 222; and the legs of Hermes on 7 with the legs of Apollo on *B.S.A.* xviii. Pl. XIII.; the elbow of the same Apollo with the elbows on 10 (Pl. XIX.). The upper line of the collar-bone has the same single curve in both masters, although the later painter either replaces the black lower line by a brown one, or leaves it out altogether.

Finally I must direct notice to a resemblance which was unknown to me when I wrote on the Eucharides master. When speaking about the decorative scheme of Nos. 10 and 11 in my list of that painter's works, I said that these two were the only rf. kalyx-kraters which had subsidiary pictures on the lower parts of the vase: at that time I had seen only one fragment of the Athens kalyx-krater, No. 9 in my list of the Nikoxenos master's works; since then I have seen other fragments, not then accessible, of the same vase; and they show that this kalyx-krater had the same decorative scheme as the kalyx-kraters in Paris and Naples: for on the lower part, the vase has subsidiary pictures, on one side a Silen, on the other a reclining youth.

Although there are all these reasons for connecting the vases I have assigned to the Nikoxenos master with the vases I have assigned to the Eucharides master, and for separating the two groups from all other vases, yet I cannot believe that the Nikoxenos group is merely the early work of the Eucharides master. There are close resemblances, but also wide divergences. For instance, we find no trace in the Nikoxenos vases of the very deep chest, the flat upper edge of the torso markings, the noteworthy feet, the unmistakeable drawing of folds, which are peculiar to the later master. The relation is best described and explained as that of uninspired master and docile but intelligent pupil.

It remains to consider at what period the Nikoxenos master worked. His drawing often reminds us of black-figure drawing: but we must beware of placing him too early on that account. He can hardly be one of the earliest red-figure painters, for his technique is already that of the developed severe style; firm and frequent relief lines, absence of incision, sparing use of red, brown inner markings. I take it that his amphorae are not older than the amphorae of Euthymides[1]; they look older at first sight, but they are really only stupid. For mere technique, Euthymides is in some ways more archaic: but Euthymides is an excellent artist, and our master, to speak truly, a clown.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

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[1] FR. Pll. 33, 14 and 81: Pottier, *Album des Vases du Louvre*, Pl. 92, No. G 44.

MUMMING PLAYS IN THE SOUTHERN BALKANS.

ATTENTION was first drawn to this subject when Mr. Dawkins published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* in 1906, a full account of the masquerade performed by Greeks in the district of Viza in Eastern Thrace.[1] Both he and Mr. Lawson had previously described the Skyros Carnival,[2] and Polites had recorded several instances from Northern Greece.[3] In 1908, Katsarov drew attention to the fact that such mumming was also known among the Bulgarians both near Adrianople and in Bulgaria proper.[4] In 1910, I published in the sixteenth volume of this *Annual*[5] an account of the Epiphany and Mayday masquerades that Mr. M. S. Thompson and I witnessed in Thessaly. Since then others have noted similar masquerades elsewhere[6] and the evidence of these mumming plays has been used by writers on the origin of Greek tragedy and comedy.[7] The most striking point brought out by recent study of the subject is that such plays are not confined to Greeks alone, they are performed by Bulgarians, Vlachs,[8] Albanians[9] and apparently, even by Gipsies.[10] While travelling in Thessaly and Macedonia during the years 1910–1912, Mr. Thompson and I noted the existence of many similar masquerades.

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[1] *J.H.S.* 1906, pp. 191 ff.

[2] *B.S.A.* vi, pp. 125 ff.; xi, pp. 72 ff.; cf. Λαογραφία ii, pp. 35 ff.

[3] Παραδόσεις, ii, pp. 1273 ff.

[4] *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 1908, pp. 407 ff.

[5] pp. 232 ff.

[6] *E.g.* Λαογραφία, iv, pp. 311 ff.

[7] Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy*; Nilsson, *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altertum.* xxvii, pp. 609 ff, 673 ff; Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy.*

[8] Cf. Cosmulei, *Datini Credinţe şi Superstiţii Aromâneşti*, pp. 38 ff.

[9] von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, i, p. 156.

[10] *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, vii. Pt. I.

The object of the present paper is merely to set down this fresh information for the benefit of students of the subject.

I.—GREEK MASQUERADES.

(A) *Thessaly:* 1. *The Winter Festival.*

At Agyia[1] at the foot of Mt. Ossa, I saw on the day after Epiphany in January 1912, a band of mummers which consisted of four boys wearing Carnival costumes, and one wearing a fustanella. I was told that the mumming took place on New Year's Day, the day of St. Basil, and continued till Epiphany. A band usually contained an Arab wearing bells and a sword, two bridegrooms, one bride who, as always, is a boy dressed as a girl, a doctor and two devils, one of whom dies and is revived by the doctor.

At Driskoli a little to the north of Pharsala mumming takes place between New Year's Day and Epiphany. The mummers, who are called *Καρκάντσαροι*, used to perform first on New Year's Day in their own village, and on the succeeding days tour the neighbouring villages, but they always returned home for Epiphany.

At Paleokastro,[2] the ancient Metropolis, to the south of Karditsa, mumming is done between January the fourth and sixth by bands known as *Ῥογκάτσια*. The young men and boys dress up in goat and sheep skins and put on gipsy costumes, masks and beards, old arms of any kind, and innumerable bells. One is a bride, another a bridegroom, and yet another an Arab loaded with bells and weapons. They go round the houses and the neighbouring villages singing suitable songs[3] to each person from whom they solicit contributions. They say that in olden days when two bands met one another, while touring the other villages, each band wanted the other to submit. No band, unless obviously the weaker, was willing to submit without a struggle which sometimes ended in bloodshed.[4]

2. *The Lenten Festival.*

In the island of Skopelos, the ancient Peparethos, which lies off the east coast of Thessaly, mumming takes place on Cheese Monday as in Skyros. The mummers are known as Bellmen, Κουδουνάδες.

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[1] Cf. *B.S.A.* xvi, p. 242.

[2] *Λαογραφία*, iv, pp. 311 ff.

[3] As at Platanos. *B.S.A.* xvi, pp. 234 ff.

[4] See below, p. 262.

3. *The Mayday Festival on Pelion.*[1]

This is still celebrated at Zangarada by small boys, but the gendarmerie attempts to suppress it. At Kissos[2] it is more flourishing. Here the Maymen, Μαίηδες, consist of a bride, an Arab, a janissary (*γενίτσαρος*) in a fustanella, a doctor, an old woman, who is the Arab's mother and a Μαιόπουλο who carries one yellow flower in his hand and is dressed with flowers. The songs sung are similar to those known at St. Laurence. The northern limit of the Mayday festival apparently is Zagora, for at Pori, the next village to the north, mumming takes place only at Epiphany. It also seems likely, that throughout Pelion the festival was originally celebrated between New Year's Day and Epiphany, and its transference to Mayday is comparatively modern. Polites records[3] that it used to be celebrated at Epiphany at Portaria near Volos, and Mr. Merlin, the British Consul at Volos, remembers bands of mummers parading the streets at Epiphany, because they twice stole his front door bell.

(B) *Macedonia: The Winter Festival.*

At Serfije at Epiphany six men dressed as bridegrooms, with fustanellas, and six others dressed as brides dance the *gaïtani*, which is a kind of Maypole dance. While they dance another character, who wears a fox-skin mask, attempts to jump on their backs. Vlachs from Vlaho-Livadhi, as well as Greeks, apparently take part in this performance.

At Mpogatsko, near Kastoria, on New Year's Day a masquerade is performed by bands which consist of three bridegrooms, three brides, an old woman, an Arab, a doctor, a bear with bells, and some *Armatoloi*, or similar brigand-like characters, who merely act as an escort to the others like the Ζουμπέκιδες on Pelion and the gendarmes at Viza. The whole band are known as Ῥουγκατσιάροι. At Kozane[4] at New Year and at Epiphany masqueraders appear. Here a band consists of a bride, a bridegroom, an old woman, an Arab with a wooden mask or helmet with foxtails on it, and a doctor. The bridegroom carries a hammer with one end blunt and the other end sharp. On the sharp end is put an orange: this recalls the orange carried by the bride at Platanos[5] in Thessaly.

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[1] *B.S.A.* xvi, pp. 244 ff.

[2] Cf. *B.S.A.* xvi, p. 249.

[3] Παραδόσεις, ii, p. 1273.

[4] Cf. Polites, *op. cit.* pp. 1273 ff.

[5] *B.S.A.* xvi, p. 239.

C) *Thrace: The Lenten Festival.*

Major Samson[1] the British Consul at Adrianople, who saw the festival on Cheese Monday, 1912, describes it as follows: 'I went to see the Cheese Monday festival, but it was very disappointing. The fact is that it has degenerated into a kind of buffoonery here, and nothing in the way of a play takes place. The Greeks, who were of the working classes, are rather ashamed of the whole proceeding. On arriving in the quarter we were met by a *Kalogheros*,[2] who was accompanied by a man dressed as a woman answering to the personage described by Mr. Dawkins as the *Babo*.[3] These two characters were going about soliciting contributions. The *Kalogheros* (Fig. 1) wore a headdress of sheepskin which, so far as I could see, was slightly padded on top of the head. Holes for the eyes and the mouth were cut in it, but neither the face nor the hands were blackened. Some sheepbells were worn at the waist, though these were not visible from the front, as they were worn at the back. In his hand the *Kalogheros* carried a long rod with a piece of sacking tied on to it. No skins were worn on the legs. The female character (Fig. 1) seems to be a mixture between a *Koritsi*[4] and the *Babo* in that, though dressed as the former, she carries a puppet. The costume worn consists of a skirt, apron, and bodice, with a kerchief binding chin and brow. The face is coloured on the cheeks and brow with red paint. The puppet consists of two cross pieces of wood shaped as in Mr. Dawkins'

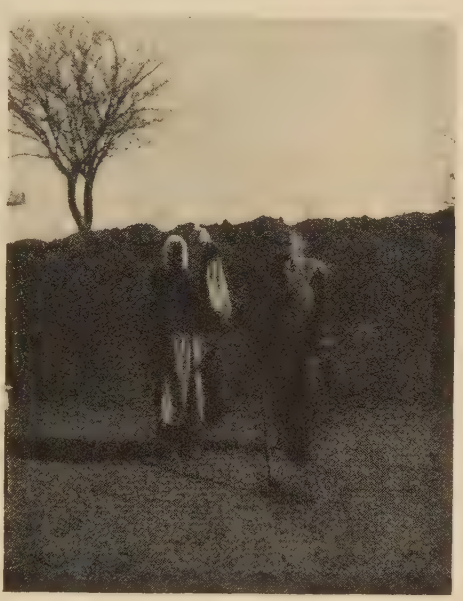

FIG. 1.—MUMMERS AT ADRIANOPLE.

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[1] Cf. *B.S.A.* xvi, p. 250. My heartiest thanks are due to Major Samson for the trouble he took in giving me this account of the masqueraders and in taking the photographs from which Figs. 1 and 2 are reproduced.

[2] *J.H.S.* 1906, pp. 193 ff.

[3] *J.H.S.* 1906, p. 196.

[4] *J.H.S.* 1906, pp. 195 ff.

illustration.[1] The frame is dressed in a child's clothes, the head being made of rag painted to represent a child's face.

'After these two characters had visited the houses of the quarter to collect money, they repaired to a coffee house, from the yard of which they emerged with a procession (Fig. 2) consisting of the other characters, which was formed as follows: first, the *Kalogheros* and the *Koritsi*, who halted from time to time and performed a dance to the strains of a bagpipe played by a man who followed them. Then came two men who I presume, answered to Mr. Dawkins' policemen.[2] They carried a length of chain with which they surrounded persons, who were then brought before the principal character (to be described presently) and condemned to pay absurd fines such as ten thousand piastres. They were, however, liberated on the payment of a small coin which was deposited on a platter borne by a man in ordinary dress. The policemen wore no costume of any kind. Finally came the principal character (Fig. 2) who answers to nothing in

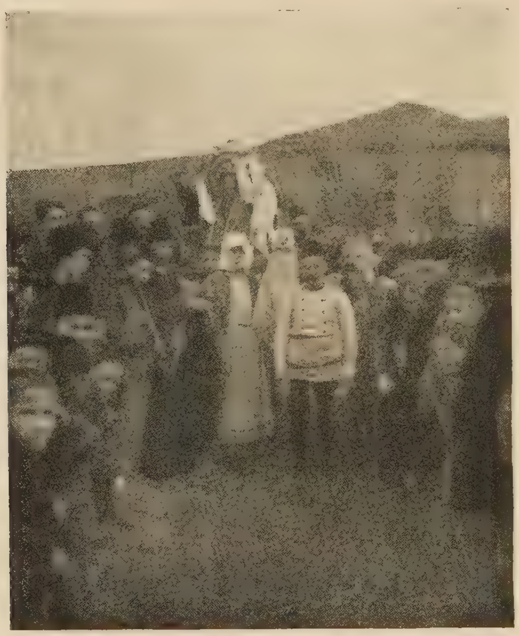

FIG. 2.—THE PROCESSION OF THE CHIEF MASQUERADER AT ADRIANOPLE.

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[1] *J.H.S.* 1906, p. 195, Fig. 4.

[2] *J.H.S.* 1906, p. 197.

Mr. Dawkins' paper, but is probably identical with the king in the Kosti festival.[1] He was borne on a cart dragged by two men. The costume he wore was a fantastic one of sacking with an inverted mud-plastered basket as a headdress. His arms were hung with empty cotton reels, and strings of garlic were attached to the head-dress. In his right hand he carried a phallus similar in shape to that illustrated by Mr. Dawkins.[2] From time to time he halted at various points in his progress, and called out his wishes for the success of the crops. It was difficult to hear exactly what he said, as his speech was interlarded with nonsense, and he was a good deal the worse for liquor. The procession finally reached an open place near the church where the cart was upset and the proceedings ended. Possibly the upsetting of the cart may have something in common with the throwing of the king into the river at Kosti. There was no attempt at the performance of a play.

The masqueraders have no Greek name. They are called *Kupek Bey*, Dog Prince in Turkish, which is also the special name applied to the *Kalogheros*. The woman is called *Kadine*.[3] No performances take place at New Year or Epiphany. The right to perform the chief character descends from father to son.

When we were at Stenimachos in Thrace in March 1911, we were told that masquerades took place only on Cheese Monday. On this day the boys dressed in skins and wearing bells but no masks, celebrate the festival. We could not, however, obtain any details of what they actually do. Polites records[4] that the festival used to be celebrated here at Epiphany when the principal characters were a janissary, an old man, and an old woman called *Kadina*. It is possible that, since Polites wrote, the date of the festival has been changed from Epiphany to Cheese Monday, as being more European and more in accordance with Carnival proper.

II.—VLACH MASQUERADES.

Among the Vlachs[5] the festival is only a winter festival, and takes place on New Year's Day or at Epiphany and on the intervening days.

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[1] *J.H.S.* 1906, pp. 201 ff.

[2] *J.H.S.* 1906, p. 195, Fig. 4.

[3] As at Stenimachos, Polites, Παραδόσεις, ii, pp. 1273 ff.

[4] Παραδόσεις, ii, pp. 1273 ff.

[5] For the Vlachs and their distribution in Macedonia, see Wace and Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, Methuen and Co., 1914.

(A) *Pindus Villages.*

At Amintshu (in Greek Metsovo) mumming takes place from New Year's Day to the day of St. John the Baptist which immediately follows Epiphany. A band of performers contains a bride dressed in European costume, a bridegroom dressed in a fustanella, a doctor, an old woman with a distaff and a dummy baby in her arms, and one or more Arabs. The Arabs, who wear bells and foxtails and have their faces masked or blackened, annoy the brides till the bridegrooms get angry and attack them and chase them away. Afterwards all dance a *gaïtani* together.

At the neighbouring village of Ameru (in Greek Melia) a similar performance is gone through by bands of mummers known as Arabs (*Arak'i*). Here the Arab wears bells, a skin mask, and a tail. The only characters which are unknown at Amintshu are the bears, men dressed in skins to resemble bears, of whom there may be one or two. But at both villages owing to the infiltration of civilisation and European ideas the festival is being transferred to Carnival with the sanction of the Church.

At Turia (in Greek Krania) the mummers are called *Ligutshari.* There are an old woman, an Arab wearing a black mask, a doctor and his wife, a bride and bridegroom, a priest, a camel, bears and devils or vampires. The Arab steals the bride from the bridegroom, who recovers her by force, and in the struggle between them one sometimes kills the other. The introduction of the camel is probably due to the influence of European ideas, for a camel is a popular figure at Carnival in Athens and other South Balkan towns. The bears, devils, and vampires are probably merely different names for the same characters, men dressed in skins to represent some kind of dangerous wild beast.

At Baieasa (in Greek Vovousa) the *Ligutshari* consist of a bride, a bridegroom, a doctor, an old woman, an Arab with bells and a mask of skin or black paper, and a robber chief (*Kāpitanŭ*) who also wears bells. If the latter character is correctly described he seems to be a confusion between the Arab and the bridegroom. The bells are part of the Arab's costume and the fustanella, the regular uniform of a South Balkan robber, is also the proper garment for a bridegroom.

At Briaza, where they are called *Arugutshari*, the mummers consist of a bride, a bridegroom, a doctor, an Arab, and a Punch (*Karag'ozŭ*). The performance takes place not only at Epiphany but at Carnival as well.

At Sāmārina the largest of the Vlach villages in Pindus, owing to the fact that the inhabitants are nomads and so leave their mountain home every autumn for the plains, no mumming can take place in the village itself in the winter. But the Samariniats wherever they winter keep up the festival. At Grevena, in the upper Haliakmon valley, they unite with their kinsfolk from the other Vlach villages of Avdhela, Smiksi and Perivoli to celebrate New Year's Day with mumming. The bands of mummers, who are called *Ligutshari*, are made up by the young men and boys. A Vlach correspondent, who as a boy was once a member of such a band, says it consisted of two bridegrooms or robber chiefs (*Kāpitan'i*) wearing fustanellas, two brides, an old man, an old woman, two with bells, and a cashier to receive contributions in money and food. If there were two bridegrooms one would be chosen as leader of the band and the other as his lieutenant, and the characters were usually assigned by drawing lots. The old man is probably another name for the Arab, and the two with bells probably represent the bears or devils. On the morning of New Year's Day the bands would wander round from house to house, accompanied by a drummer and perhaps a piper as well, to dance and collect contributions. As the band came to each house one of the bridegrooms and a bride would lead the way with the cashier in attendance. If they met anyone on the road one of the brides was sent to give him an orange to smell, and he was thus induced to put a few half-pence in the cashier's bag. After lunch and church the bands of small boys would cease their own performances and with all the rest of the fold would collect in the market-place to see the bands of young men dancing. The same correspondent describes the scene thus: 'You would see on one side a ring dance of brides and bridegrooms dancing to the hoarse notes of the pipe and the heavy beat of the drum. The old woman with her baby in her arms sat in the middle and rocked the child to sleep. The Punches would do all sorts of ridiculous tricks to raise a laugh, and annoy the brides. The robber chiefs[1] would often get angry when they saw this and rushed to beat them. Often they pretended to kill them and they would fall down dead. Then came the doctor's turn. He would come in with a paper of ashes, some garlic and an onion or two, and would begin his work. First he felt the pulse; then he listened at the soles of the feet to see if the heart was beating. He would rub the eyes with garlic or an onion. All the time the old woman was weeping at the dead man's head. Then another Punch would come, who, after looking at what the doctor was doing and seeing that he was doing nothing, would set to work himself. He would drag the dead man by the feet along the ground a little, hit him with a stick on the chest and indulge in other horseplay, not infrequently obscene, at his expense. Then the dead man would jump on his feet again alive.'

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[1] *I.e.* the bridegrooms.

This is a description of what took place some ten years ago; but even then the festival seems to have been contaminated by a European carnival element, for the same correspondent describes bears, devils, camels, ships, acrobats, clowns, and other Carnival characters as taking part. Bears or devils to judge by the mumming elsewhere, seem to belong to the original tradition of the performance, and camels, acrobats, clowns and the like, seem to have been introduced as reduplications of the original characters to make the festival more European. The devils wore black clothes fitting tightly, black masks, horns, and long tails turned up on their heads and ending with a white hare's tail. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that in recent years the ecclesiastical authorities of Grevena have exerted their influence to transfer the festival to Carnival. This change is now slowly, but surely, taking place.

At Vlachogianni, near Elassona, the Samariniat boys make up bands of *Ligutshari* five to fifteen strong. The characters are an old woman with a baby and a distaff, an Arab who robs the old woman of her child, a doctor, a bridegroom and a bride. The Arab wears a mask of goat's skin with a goat's hair beard, and more bells than any other performer; in fact, the more bells he wears, the better. According to another account the play is the usual one. The Arab would attempt to steal the bride; the bridegroom would interfere, and the Arab would be killed. The old woman, the Arab's wife, would weep over the body and fetch the doctor, who then restored the Arab to life again. A similar play is said to be performed by the Samariniats at Katerini in the Pierian plain, where the Greeks also take part.

At Elassona the Samariniats unite with Vlachs from Vlaho-Livadhi and local Greeks to make up bands of *Ligutshari*. In the band seen in Fig. 3 four are Samariniats, ten Livadhiani and five Greeks.[1] The band contains seven bridegrooms or robber chiefs (*Kāpitan'i*), three in the front row and four in the second, all wearing fustanellas and innumerable silver chains and charms. The chief, marked by the possession of a walking stick, sits in the front row; and his lieutenant, marked by a wallet for carrying despatches, sits on the extreme left of the second row. The seven brides are all in the back row. The two devils are at either end of the front row. Next to the devil on the left sits the Albanian, marked as such by the possession of the typical two-stringed Albanian guitar and carrying a short blunderbuss. The two cashiers are in the second row with the bridegroom and wear merely their ordinary clothes. This band is said to have performed the following play at Epiphany, 1912. One of the devils or Punches worried the leader's bride and consequently quarrelled violently with him. The Albanian then shot the Punch or devil with his blunderbuss loaded with ashes. The old woman wept over the body and tried to persuade the doctor to come, but he refused to come without pay. So the

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[1] See Wace and Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, Pl. XXI; I have to thank Messrs. Methuen and Co. for permission to reproduce this photograph here.

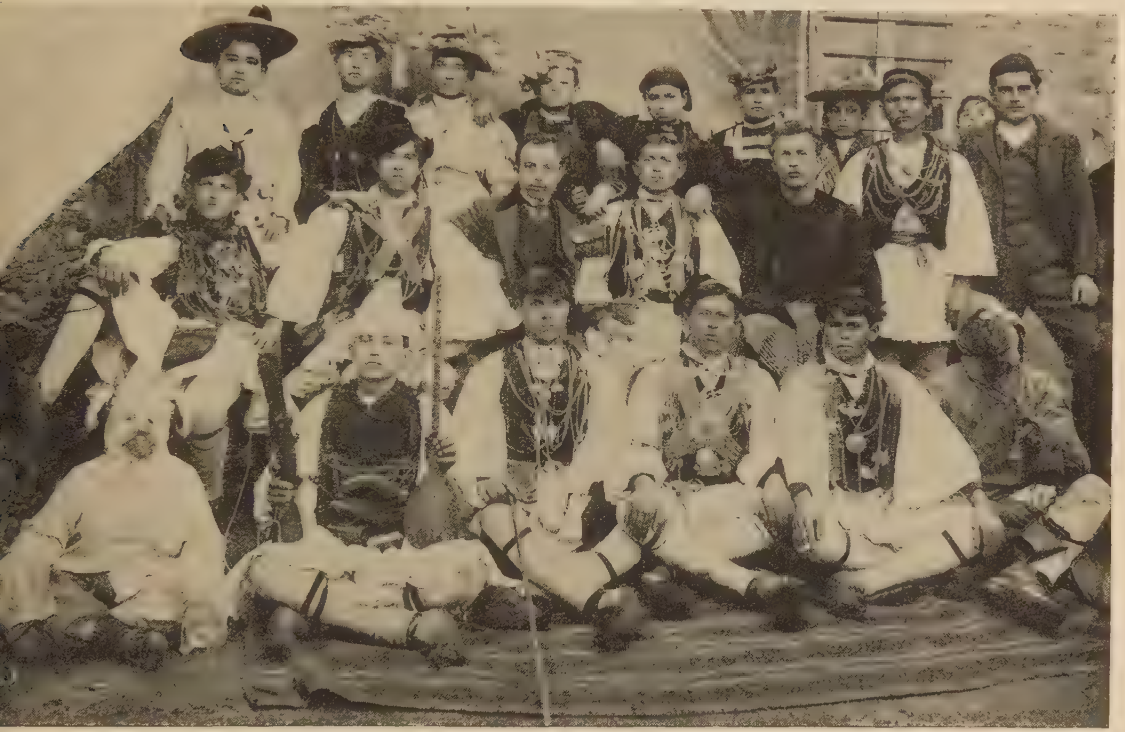

FIG. 3.—VLACH AND GREEK MASQUERADERS AT ELASSONA.

old woman collected money from the spectators, which she gave to the doctor. The doctor came, examined the dead Punch, dosed him with water and so revived him. But it is hard to see how this band could have performed this play; for in the photograph, which I obtained through the leader and his lieutenant, both the old woman and the doctor are missing. It is possible that the part of the old woman might have been taken by one of the junior brides and that of the doctor by the senior cashier. According to yet another account one of the duties of the Albanian was to shoot the bridegroom with ashes from his blunderbuss.

(B) *Central Villages.*

At Neveska the mummers, who are called *Ishk'inari*, begin about a week before the New Year to prepare for the festival which lasts three days. Men and boys make up bands and send to Florina for Turks to come to act as musicians who always come in groups of four, two drummers and two pipers. Others send for more or less Europeanized bands from Klisura and Blatsă. Each band of *Ishk'inari* must consist of at least ten; and usually a band is from fifteen to twenty strong. There are several brides and bridegrooms; some wear masks and blacken or colour their faces; others are dressed as Turkish irregular soldiers, brigands, and the like. But in each band there must be two men dressed in sheepskins. They have hats of skin with a bell hanging from the top, and their bodies covered all over with bells. They carry a chain between them and are called *zdrugamani*. Their main duty is to act as policemen and see that no one interferes with the *Ishk'inari*.

On New Year's Day they go to the church and dance in front of it till the service is over. Then they go about the village from house to house soliciting contributions and calling especially on those called Vasili, who naturally celebrate their name on New Year's Day, the day of St. Basil. They dance a little in each house, receive a few pence and move on after being refreshed with a cup of coffee and a kind of cake made specially at New Year. On the second day in the streets and in the market, if the band meets any one who has not paid them anything, the *zdrugamani* catch him with their chain and do not let him go till he has paid. The victim may if he likes take the band to his house and treat them there while they dance. The money collected is divided amongst the members of the band after the musicians have been paid. If boys under fifteen take part they dance the *gaida*. A somewhat similar performance is said to take place at the neighbouring village of Klisura at the same time of year, where the mummers are called *Arugutshari.*

(C) *Northern Villages.*

At Krushevo[1] the mummers are called Arabs (*Arak'i*). A band consists of a bride, a bridegroom, a doctor, a priest, an old woman, bears, devils, who wear horns and tattered old clothes, such as are worn by the Bulgar peasants of the district, and one or more Arabs who are masked, and have on the tops of their heads a piece of board with a piece of iron stuck in its centre, to which is fixed as a

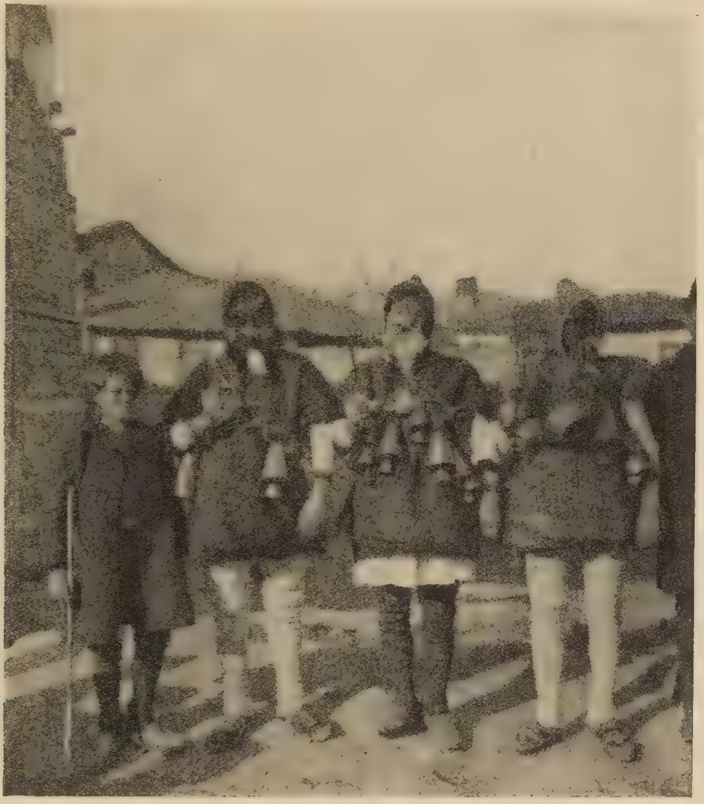

FIG. 4.—MASQUERADERS AT VERRIA.

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[1] Cf. Cosmulei, *op. cit.* pp. 38 ff.

kind of crest the tail of a fox, wolf, or goat. In this case the information given me was not explicit enough to enable the precise relationship of the bears, devils, and Arabs to be determined.

(D) *Verria District.*

The Vlachs at Verria, the ancient Beroea, and in their hill villages, such as Doliani or Selia, in the neighbourhood, still observe the festival though in a much abbreviated form. During a winter visit to Verria I was fortunate enough to see the festival performed on New Year's Day, 1912. The performers that I met were all Vlachs, and the Greek inhabitants of the town seemed to take no part in the mumming at all. After the church service was over bands of boys, both small and big, appeared, visiting the different quarters of the town where their kinsfolk lived. Each band consisted of from three to five members. In one instance (Fig. 4) a band of three was accompanied by a smaller boy as

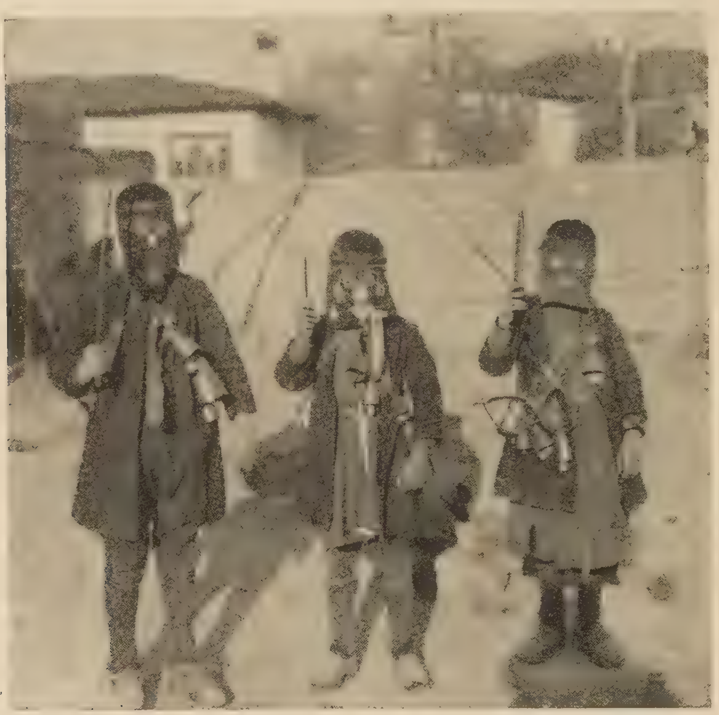

FIG. 5.—MASQUERADERS AT VERRIA.

cashier and guide, who wore his ordinary clothes and carried a stick. Otherwise all were dressed in the same manner and all alike known as *Ligutshari.* The small boys (Fig. 5) wore simple masks made of rough cloth, often with a goat's hair beard, a few bells tied on the body, and each carried an old and rusty knife or sword. The bigger boys (Fig. 6) wore a shepherd's goat's hair cape, with the hood pulled up over the head, a mask of cloth with a beard and moustache of goat's hair, a large number of bells tied about their bodies, and each flourished an old knife, sword, or similar weapon. In one or two cases only did they seem to have put on white leggings. It is noticeable that almost every mask had a cross worked upon it, usually in the centre of the forehead. In every case that I saw the proceedings were the same. There was no attempt at the performance of a play, but they knocked at the house doors and demanded money or food in return for their good wishes for the New Year. Any man whom they met outside his house was waylaid and threatened with the knives till he paid. When I approached a band and asked if I might photograph

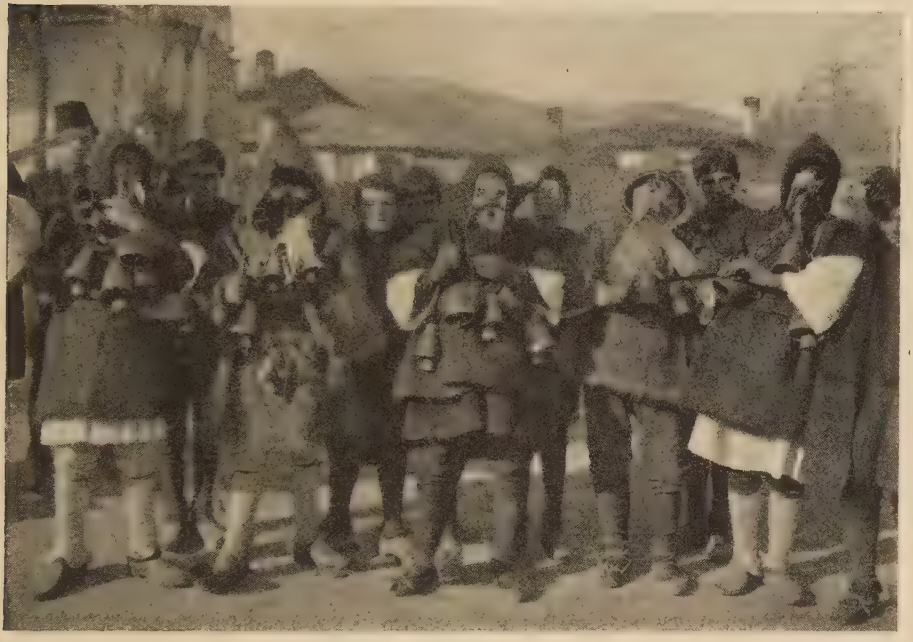

FIG. 6.—MASQUERADERS AT VERRIA.

them, they readily agreed on condition that I gave them something, preferably silver. When the photograph was taken they left their positions and danced round and round me and my camera, threatening me with their knives, and making the most horrible noise with their bells, which naturally rang as they danced, till I paid the sum agreed upon.

This is what I saw, but the Vlachs of Verria say that in other days the festival was much more generally observed. The bands were bigger and contained more characters and after their first appearance at the New Year they continued till Epiphany. They would first perform in their own village and then after a tour of the neighbouring villages return home for Epiphany.

They say that two bands often met on the road and that then each band wanted the other to submit, which no band was willing to do unless obviously the weaker. This rivalry often led to fights between the bands which sometimes ended in bloodshed.[1] To-day they still point out spots in the hills behind Verria called *La Ligutshari* where mummers are reported to have been killed on one of these occasions. I saw one survival of this custom of a band visiting other villages. On the afternoon of New Year's Day, a band of six Greeks, all dressed in fustanellas, from a village in the plain near Verria came into the town to dance and collect money for their church at home.

(E) *Meglen Villages.*

At L'umnitsa, according to a man who once took part in it, the festival is no longer observed, but it used to be celebrated on New Year's Day. The mummers who were called *Dzhamalari*, consisted of a bride, a bridegroom and an Arab who watched over the bride.

At Oshinĭ, according to a young man now aged twenty-two, who had heard of the custom from his mother, the mumming took place on January 16th, the day of St. Athanasius. Amongst the mummers were an old woman with a wooden doll and a man in a goat's skin with a blackened face and wearing bells.

III.—THE FESTIVAL AS A WHOLE.

The new evidence on the festival is not complete and therefore cannot lead us to any definite conclusion. Two points, however, seem to be brought out by it. That the festival is really a winter festival and has in different places been transferred to a different season. Secondly, that it is by no means a typically Greek festival, for it occurs only in North Greece where there is much mixed blood, and is known to almost all the other South Balkan races.[1]

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[1] Cf. above p. 249.

The evidence of the transference of the festival from its proper time between New Year and Epiphany is strong. On Pelion it seems clear that the May-day celebration is modern, perhaps influenced by European customs. In the Vlach villages it is clear that the Orthodox Church is using all its influence to secure the transference of the festival from the winter to Carnival. A winter festival is thought un-Hellenic and uncivilised, but Carnival, which has been imported into Greece from Western Europe is considered Hellenic, Christian, and civilised. The same idea is probably at the root of the transference of the festival at Stenimachos from Epiphany to Cheese Monday, if our information is correct.[2] Possibly the Cheese Monday observances elsewhere, since they are so closely connected with Lent and the Church, have been transferred from the winter. A similar variation in date is to be observed in the *guisers* in Scotland. Apparently the usual time for these mummers to appear is Hogmanay (New Year's Eve), but at St. Andrews they come out on Halloween, and in Kincardineshire on November 2nd.

That the festival is not typically Greek is shown by the fact that in Greece it is confined to North Greece; for we have never heard of its occurring south of Mount Othrys. A Locrian gendarme in Thessaly, who was engaged in attempting to put down the Epiphany festival, told us that no one in his native country ever heard of such ridiculous performances. In the songs[3] from St. Laurence and Platanos, one of the wishes is :—

> *Νὰ ἀσπρίσῃς σὰν τὸν Ἔλυμπον, σὰν τὸ ἄσπρο Περιστέρι,*
> *Νὰ ἀσπρίσῃς σὰν τὸν Ἔλυμπον, σὰν τὰ ἄσπρα περιστέρια.*
>
> 'May you grow white like Olympus, like the white Peristeri!'

In the second song the name of the mountain Peristeri has been misunderstood, and so has given rise to the corruption *Περιστέρια*, which caused me to mistranslate the lines before. Peristeri[1] is the famous mountain which rises immediately to the south-west of Monastir. This might be taken to indicate that the centre of the region throughout which the festival is known to-day lies between Olympus and Peristeri, that is to say, in Macedonia. In the same song the Macedonian use of the Greek word *ἀργαστήρια* for cafés,[2] a use which I have not heard in Thessaly, also indicates that the home of the song lay to the north of Olympus. Among the Vlachs the usual name for the mummers is *Ligutshari*, *Algutshari*, or *Arugutshari*. The name *Arak'i* is merely that of one character applied to the whole body; for the names *Ishk'inari* and *Dzhamalari* I can offer no explanation. The Greek names[3] *Ῥογκάτσια*, *Ῥουγκατσιάροι* and *Ῥουκατζιάρια* are clearly the same as the Vlach *Ligutshari* and its variants. Other Greek names for the mummers, such as *Μπαμπόγεροι*[4] or *Μπαμπαγιούριδες* (at Vlachogianni), which all seem to have the meaning 'silly old men,' are the names which might be applied to any buffoon or mummer. A parallel to this is perhaps the name *Kupek Bey*, Dog Prince, at Adrianople, which is certainly depreciatory. The names *Ἀραπάδες*[5] or *Ἀράμπδις*[6] are those of one character applied to all like the Vlach *Arak'i*. So also the name *Κουδουνάδες* at Skopelos, is derived from what the mummers wear, and is apparently similar to the names *Ἐμπουσάριοι*[6] and *Μπιμπουσάρια*, the latter of which Abbott[4] says is given to the bells. The name *Μαΐηδες*, Maymen, on Pelion[7] is merely derived from the time of year at which the mummers appear. Lastly the name *Καρκάντσαροι* which the mummers seem to bear at Driskoli and among the Turks[8] indicates the mysterious beings whom they are supposed to drive away. The connection between the mumming and the *Καλλικάντσαροι* is still very obscure. Unfortunately I am not competent to discuss this interesting point, for that the reader must be referred to Mr. Lawson's book.[9] It should, however, be noted that the Vlachs believe as strongly in *Karkandzal'i* as any other Balkan race.[1]

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[1] See above, p. 248.
[2] See above, p. 253.
[3] *B.S.A.* xvi, pp. 234, 247.

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[1] There is another Peristeri in Pindus near Metsovo, but it is not well known at all.

[2] Mistranslated by me in *B.S.A.* xvi, p. 234.

[3] Λαογραφία, iv, p. 311; Polites, *op. cit.* pp. 1273 ff; cf. above pp. 249, 250.

[4] Abbott, *Mac. Folklore*, pp. 80, 88.

[5] *B.S.A.* xvi, pp. 233 ff.

[6] Polites, *op. cit.* pp. 1273 ff.

[7] *B.S.A.* xvi, p. 244.

So I was told at Verria and at Elassona.

[9] *Modern Greek Folklore*, pp. 228 ff.

Those who see in these mumming festivals the origin of the Greek drama can compare the *Καλλικάντσαροι* to the Satyrs, and, in view of the fact that the festival is not typically Greek, can refer to the alleged Dionysiac origin of Greek drama, for Dionysos was not a Hellene, but a new comer from the north.

A. J. B. WACE

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[1] Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, pp. 137 ff.; cf. Wiegand, *Arcmunen*, ii, p. 123.

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

THE Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the School was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Tuesday, October 28th, 1913, MR. GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, Chairman of the Managing Committee, presiding.

The Secretary of the School (MR. J. ff. BAKER-PENOYRE) submitted the following report on behalf of the Managing Committee for the Session 1912–1913.

The Managing Committee beg leave to submit the following Report on the work of the School for the Session 1912–13.

On the occasion of the death of H.M. King George of Greece, Mr. J. P. Droop, who was at the time administering the School, presented the condolences of the Committee to H.M. Queen Olga, who was pleased to return a gracious reply. An address of condolence and congratulation was forwarded to H.M. King Constantine by the Committee, acting in conjunction with the Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, to which also a gracious answer was returned through H.E. Mons. J. Gennadius.

The year has been a troubled one for the countries where the work of the School is carried on, but the Committee are glad to learn that, although the proposed excavations in Asia Minor and Macedonia were impossible, in Greece and Crete the conditions were as favourable as ever to the activities of the School, owing to the admirable restraint and order shewn by the Greek nation in this time of trial. On the Director's advice, nurses working in the temporary hospital organised in the Marasleion (the training college for teachers adjacent to the School) were given quarters at the hostel, a courtesy for which the School has received a gracious letter of thanks from H.M. the Queen of the Hellenes. To the relief work in Epeiros, organised by Madame Paul Mela, School funds not being available for this purpose, the Committee and members of the School made small personal contributions. It is a satisfaction to them to note that a former member of the School, Mrs. F. J. Watson Taylor (Miss L. E. Tennant), took part in the humane task of feeding and nursing the refugees in Epeiros.

The Committee have pleasure in recording that the Gustav Sachs Memorial Studentship, named at the last Annual Meeting, has now been placed on a definite footing. Trustees have been appointed, and a scheme, approved by Mrs. Nanny Sachs, has been accepted by the Committee. The studentship, which will be of the value of about £100, will be awarded once in five years. The Committee have also gratefully to record a legacy of about £175 to the School, from the late Miss Harriett Cartwright of Kenilworth.

The Director.—Owing to the political circumstances being adverse to the excavation at Datcha, it was necessary as early as possible in the session to fix upon some alternative site. After a month in Athens at the beginning of the session Mr. Dawkins therefore went to Naxos accompanied by Messrs. Droop, Laistner, and Scutt in search of some early site. A certain number of indications were found, but nothing sufficiently encouraging to warrant an excavation. In the latter part of March he went to Crete to negotiate about the site of Lyttos, reserved for British excavation by the Cretan government under Prince George, but the negotiations for this site fell through. After a short time at the Museum in Candia he made a journey to Mirabello, then through the Messara plain and from this visited the Cave of Kamares. On his return to Candia he put in a petition, which was favourably received, for permission to excavate this sanctuary. In the latter part of April he paid a short visit to Constantinople and secured the consent of the Direction of the Imperial Museum to defer the excavation of Datcha until more favourable circumstances. He then remained in Athens until the middle of June, when he and his fellow-workers started to excavate the Kamares cave, where work was continued until the middle of July. He returned to Athens and shortly afterwards left Greece.

During the time he spent at Athens he wrote a contribution for the *Annual* and carried out his share of the editorial work. He also wrote the article on Modern Greek in the *Year's Work in Classical Studies* and devoted a good deal of time to the publication of the Sparta discoveries. He spoke at both of the open meetings of the school.

The Librarian and Assistant Director.—Mr. F. W. Hasluck, M.A., reached Athens at the beginning of the session and remained there until March 7. Besides his work as Librarian he carried out researches on the following subjects: *The Mediaeval and Modern History of Smyrna*, *The Religion and Folk-lore of Mahommedan Asia Minor*, and *Foreign Currencies in the Levant in Mediaeval and Modern Times.* He also prepared papers for the next volume of the *Annual* and a historical note on the Church of the Virgin of the Hundred Gates in Paros for the Byzantine Fund, and read a paper at an open meeting of the School. In March he went to Smyrna, Konia and Karaman and at the end of April to Constantinople. From there he investigated a probable survival of a cult of the Nymphs at Armudlu in Bithynia, and visited Prusa, Nicaea, Angora and Nicomedia. The results of these journeys, made for purposes of general study, were a small series of photographs, including four of the church of St. Clement at Angora, presented to the

Hellenic Society, particulars and samples of an interesting hoard of mediaeval silver coins, mainly Neapolitan, found in the Sporades, and two terracotta "idols," said to be from Kul-tepe in Cappadocia.

The Students.—Mr. S. Casson, B.A., Senior Scholar of St. John's College, Oxford, and holder of the School Studentship, worked from November to January at University College, London, and in the British Museum, on the fragments and casts of the Elgin marbles. In Athens, he worked at sculpture in general, and in especial in the Acropolis Museum for the purposes of the second volume of the *Acropolis Catalogue.* He travelled extensively in Greece, studying sculpture and topography, visiting also Crete and Melos, where he catalogued and arranged the vases found at Phylakopi by the School in 1911, now in the local museum. He returned by Salonika, Belgrade (where he was able to study Dr. Vassits' latest finds from Vinça), Munich and Paris, where he worked in the Louvre.

Mr. and Mrs. Guy Dickins spent June and July in Greece, visiting the principal Museums and working in Athens on Hellenistic Sculpture.

Mr. J. P. Droop, M.A., reached Athens at the end of November, where he remained, except for short journeys to Naxos and the Peloponnese, until the middle of May, occupied largely with administrative work. He then joined Sir Arthur Evans in Crete, working at the reconstruction of the frescoes from Knossos, and in June came to the School excavation at the Kamares cave, at the conclusion of which he left Greece.

Mr. W. S. George arrived at Athens on March 28th and remained in Greece for about a month, studying architectural terracottas, with special reference to those found at Sparta: the examples at Athens, Delphi, and Olympia were compared, and with the assistance of Mrs. George, drawings were made of all the fragments at Sparta. Later, comparisons were also made with the Etruscan terracottas in Rome and Florence. This work will be utilised in the final publication of the Spartan discoveries.

Mr. W. R. Halliday, B.A., B.Litt., Lecturer on Greek History and Archaeology in the University of Glasgow, came out to assist at the excavation of the Kamares Cave. He reached Athens in the middle of June and left almost immediately for Crete, was present throughout the excavation, and afterwards travelled in Crete in the districts of Amari and Mylopotamo, visiting also many of the more important archaeological sites in the island. He then returned to Athens, whence he went to Volo, the monasteries of Meteora, and, crossing Pindus by Metsovo, visited Jannina and Arta. He returned to England by way of Scutari, Cettinje, the towns on the coast of Dalmatia, and Trieste.

Mr. M. L. W. Laistner, B.A., Craven Student in the University of Cambridge, studied the ceramic art of Ionia as a preparation for the excavation at Datcha. In September and October he worked in the museums in Paris and Munich, and continued the same study at Athens, visiting Mykonos for the sake of the finds from Rheneia. He visited Naxos, and travelled in the Peloponnese and North Greece for general archaeological and topographical study, and in May went to Candia, where he worked in the Candia Museum. Later he worked for a month at the School excavation at the Kamares cave, and early in July returned to England.

Mr. R. S. Lambert, Scholar of Wadham College, was in Greece from March to July, studying the topography and archaeology of the country as a preparation for going to Oxford. He visited in this way nearly all the important sites in Greece, travelled from Larissa through Epeiros and Macedonia to Salonika, and at the end of the season came to Crete, where he visited Knossos, Phaistos and Gortyn, and was present at the excavation of the Kamares cave.

Mr. G. Gordon Leith, A.R.I.B.A. (Herbert Baker Scholar), came to Athens to study Greek architecture with a view to its application to modern conditions of building in South Africa. For this purpose he visited the more important architectural remains in Greece,—Aegina, Epidauros, Nauplia, Tiryns, Argos, Mycenae, Corinth, Bassae, Eleusis and Delphi,—making notes on construction and design and measuring details and parts of various edifices. In Athens he worked on the Acropolis and in the Museums, collecting material for a paper to be published in South Africa on Sculpture in relation to Architecture, and for another paper on a reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, which is to be completed in London.

Mr. C. A. Scutt, B.A., Prendergast Student of the University of Cambridge, went to Greece to make a special study of the Tsakonian dialect. He reached Athens at the end of September, and, after three weeks' preliminary work on Modern Greek, made the first of two journeys in Tsakonia to learn the dialect orally and to collect material. In December he accompanied the Director in a visit to Naxos, and studied the dialect spoken there. With the exception of archaeological visits to Delphi and Boeotia, Olympia and the more important Peloponnesian sites, the rest of the season was spent in Athens working on the material gathered in Tsakonia, and in historical and geographical studies bearing on the dialect. At the end of June he left Greece, and on his way home paid a short visit to the village of Bova in Calabria to study the Greek dialect spoken there, which is said to have some relation to Tsakonian, and in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris examined the MSS. of Villoison, amongst which it seemed possible that there might be some notes on Tsakonian.

Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard, M.A., aided by grants from the Hort Fund in the University of Cambridge and the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, was admitted for the study of Byzantine musical MSS. He visited Patmos in August, but owing to the Italian occupation was not allowed to visit the monastery. At Constantinople he studied the MSS. in the Library of the Patriarchate, and then spent five weeks on Mount Athos. Here he visited the more important libraries, took about one hundred photographs of MSS. and made many notes. In October, he worked at MSS. in the National Library at Athens, and in November went to the Monastery of Sinai. The musical MSS. there had never been studied, and Mr. Tillyard took a comprehensive series of photographs illustrating the full development of Byzantine musical notation. At Paris he studied similar MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and at Chartres identified a fragment as belonging to a MS. now in the Monastery of the Lavra on Mount Athos. In England he has devoted much time to the study of this material, and published articles on the subject in the School *Annual*, the *Musical Antiquary*, and the *Magazine of the International Musical Society*.

Excavations, etc.—The site chosen for this year's work was the cave on the southern slope of Mount Ida in Crete which takes its name from the village of Kamares. This cave had been known from the beginning of the archaeological exploration of Crete as a Minoan Sanctuary, owing to the discovery in its recesses by a peasant, of a quantity of the early painted pottery of the Middle Minoan period, known, from the name of the cave itself, as Kamares. The cave is a large open-mouthed hollow in the steep side of the mountain some 5000 feet above the sea at the upper limit of the belt of wood. Below it the southern sea, the Messara plain and the hill of Phaistos lie outspread as in a map, and the great opening of the cavern is visible all over the western part of the plain beneath the eastern of the two peaks of a spur of Ida which at that distance conceal the actual summit. No more magnificent situation for a sacred cave could be imagined.

Work lasted from the middle of June to the middle of July, the party consisting of Mr. Droop, Mr. Halliday, Mr. Laistner, Mr. Lambert and the Director, who was in charge throughout. Owing to the limited space the number of workmen did not rise above about twenty. The cave consists of two parts, an outer and an inner cave. The outer cave runs down at a fairly steep slope increasing considerably in width as it descends. The mouth, however, is so wide that the whole is fairly well lighted and it was only amongst the fallen rocks at the bottom that it was necessary to use artificial light. The floor of this part of the cave is strewn with rocks of various sizes, which have clearly fallen from the roof. At the bottom of this outer part is the entrance to the inner cave. This is very low and, although at one time of considerable width, it has been so much choked by fallen blocks that the present entrance is narrow and difficult. The interior is an oblong hall with a floor consisting of a steep scree of small stones. To this part no daylight penetrates.

The finds were exclusively in the outer cave, and excepting for a few sherds of pottery at the mouth of the cave and higher up the slope, all amongst the large fallen rocks at the bottom of the outer cave near the entrance to the inner grotto. Here an immense quantity of pottery was found mixed with soft black mould and lying in the crevices between the broken masses of rock. A certain amount of blasting and rock-splitting with crowbars and sledgehammers was done, but nothing was found beneath the boulders. The inference is that in Minoan times the cave was in much the same condition as it is now and that the main falls from the roof are of still greater antiquity, and that the offerings were placed among, and in some cases in crevices underneath, the rocks in the lower part of the cave. There was no evidence that the ancients penetrated to the inner cave at all. The scree which forms its floor is crossed by four rough retaining walls, but the date of these cannot be fixed; the bones of animals certainly not as old as Minoan times found in the cave shew that it has been a good deal used from time to time, probably as a refuge.

The pottery is, with a very few somewhat later sherds, all Middle Minoan, contemporary with the twelfth dynasty of Egypt. It was scattered in all directions and greatly broken, but enough was collected and mended to enable water-colour drawings to be made of a series of beautiful vases. These vases are at least as fine of their class as anything yet found in Crete. They have the black ground characteristic of the fabric and on this are patterns in white helped out by red and orange. Especially fine are a jar with a pattern of crocuses and another with an octopus, the latter being a motive hitherto found only on vases of a later date. Besides these painted jars and cups there was a great mass of unpainted ware, big jars and what seem to have been tied-on covers. Judging from vegetable remains found in some quantities in one place, it seems that corn of some kind was amongst the offerings originally contained in them.

That all this mass of pottery is Middle Minoan and most of it (as far as can be said before it has been more thoroughly studied) Middle Minoan II., and that Late Minoan sherds of any kind are so rare, indicates that the vogue of the cave as a sanctuary lasted for only a comparatively short period. The finds are to be published in the next number of the *Annual.*

During the Session the Committee have been asked to undertake further representations in the matter of the alleged neglect and maltreatment of antiquities in the island of Cyprus. As a result of sundry investigations on the spot, they are glad to be able to state that, under the intelligent administration of Mr. Markides, the Cyprus museum committee appear to have entered on a new era of more enlightened care for the remains throughout the island. They wish to record their earnest hope that this better state of things, long desired by lovers of ancient art, may be perpetuated.

The Committee have recently received acknowledgments for the gift of antiquities emanating from Mr. Wace and Mr. Thompson's excavations in North Greece, from the trustees of the British Museum, the keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, and the Director of the Museum of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge.

Publications:—The School is once more indebted to Miss C. A. Hutton for editing the *Annual.* The recently published eighteenth volume maintains the high record to which subscribers to the School have become accustomed. Progress has been made with the second volume of the *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum.* Mr. S. Casson has been at work, both in England and in Athens, on his section of the post-Persian marbles. The catalogue of terracottas is practically ready for the press. The Committee hope soon to be able to make a definite statement about the definitive publication of the excavations at Sparta and Palaikastro. Apart from these official publications, the Director has nearly completed his important work on the modern Greek dialects in Cappadocia. Mr. Wace and Mr. Thompson are about to publish a book on the anthropology and history of the Vlach nation. Mr. Hasluck is, the Committee understand, collecting materials for a book on Smyrna. Since the last Report of the School was issued, the Byzantine Research Fund have published a fine monograph on the church of St. Eirene at Constantinople, by Mr. Walter George, sometime Student of the School.

Open Meetings.—Two open meetings were held in the course of the session, the *acta* being as follows:—

Feb. 15, 1913.—Mr. R. M. Dawkins: *Modern Greek in Asia Minor.*
Mr. F. W. Hasluck: *Side-lights on the History of the Mausoleum.*
Apr. 16, 1913.—Mr. R. M. Dawkins: *George Finlay.*[1]
Mr. J. P. Droop: *Recent Excavations at Abydos.*

The Library.—The total number of accessions to the Library in the course of the session has been 128, of which 49 are complete works, 50 are pamphlets and 29 are parts of works in course of publication. Exclusive of current periodicals 46 volumes have been bound, and a special effort has been made to reduce the number of unbound pamphlets, by binding them together, as far as possible in accordance with the arrangement of the library by subjects. Nineteen volumes of pamphlets, mostly falling into the class of topography and local history have been made up in this way.

Eighteen persons outside the immediate circle of the School have borrowed books, but on account of the war the Library has not been as much used by travellers as usual.

The usefulness of the slide collection has been increased by uniformly cataloguing on cards all the slides belonging to the School. This work, which covers not only more recent accessions but the large collection presented by Miss Hutton, and involving the writing of more than 500 new cards, was carried out by Mr. Droop.

The school is indebted for gifts of books to the following learned societies and public bodies: the Trustees of the British Museum; the Byzantine Fund; the Ἐκπαιδευτικὸς Ὅμιλος; The Egyptian Exploration Fund; the French Ministry of Education; the Imperial German Archaeological Institute; H.M. Government of India; the Ny-Carlsberg Foundation (Copenhagen); the University of Upsala.

The following authors have kindly presented copies of their works: Prof. J. B. Bury, Mr. H. B. Cotterill, Dr. M. Crispis (Tripolis), Prof. W. Dörpfeld, Prof. E. David (Mytilene), Prof. H. M. Chadwick, Dr. L. R. Farnell, Dr. H. von Fritze, Prof. G. Gerola, Mr. W. R. Halliday, Dr. W. Leaf, Mr. H. Lukach, M. Ph. Negris, Mr. T. E. Peet, Mr. H. Pirie-Gordon, Dr. O. Rhousopoulos, Mr. Somers Clarke, Mr. M. N. Tod, Dr. M. Triandaphyllides, Dr. Zammit (Malta).

Among donors of miscellaneous works are: Mr. J. B. Bourchier, The Director, Mr. J. P. Droop, Mr. W. H. Duke, Miss C. A. Hutton, The Librarian, and Mr. G. A. Macmillan.

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[1] At this meeting the commemorative bronze tablet, designed by Mr. W. S. George for the Finlay library, was exhibited.

Acknowledgments.—Acknowledgments have been made in the course of this report of much valued help given to the School in various directions, but the thanks of the School are owing in an especial degree to H.B.M.'s Minister Sir Francis Elliot, G.C.V.O., for many acts of kindness; to the Greek Government for their continual support, and especially to Dr. V. Leonardos, the chief of the Archaeological Department, Dr. V. Staïs, Ephor of the National Museum, and Professor Soteriades, Ephor in charge of the Acropolis; to many of the Ephors of the provinces, especially to Dr. Stavropoulos for his help to Mr. Laistner at Mykonos; to the Cretan authorities, Drs. Hazzidakis and Xanthoudides for their support and assistance in the excavation at the Kamares cave; to H.E. Halil Edhem Bey, the Director of the Imperial Ottoman Museums at Constantinople, for his continued interest in the proposed excavation at Datcha and courteous assistance to the Director at Constantinople; and to his Holiness the Oecumenical Patriarch and to the Archbishop of Sinai for their kind interest in Mr. Tillyard's researches.

Finance.—The Revenue Account for the year shows a credit balance of £136 6*s.* 2*d.*, as compared with a credit balance of £251 1*s.* 4*d.* for the preceding year. The total of the annual subscriptions is £818, or nearly £40 less than in the preceding year. This serious decrease is much to be regretted, and an earnest appeal is again made to all subscribers to bring the School and its work to the notice of their friends. The cost of the publication of the *Annual* is less by £53, but the value of the sales shows a slight diminution.

The Chairman having commented on the report moved its adoption, which was seconded by DR. LEAF. The Report having been put to the Meeting was carried unanimously.

PROFESSOR BOSANQUET moved a vote of thanks to the HON. J. ABERCROMBY, for his donation of £40 for the excavations at the Kamares cave, which was seconded by MR. PENOYRE and carried unanimously.

LADY EVANS moved that PROF. ERNEST GARDNER, MR. M. N. TOD, MR. A. J. B. WACE and SIR C. WALDSTEIN, retiring under rule XIII (3) and being eligible for re-election, be re-elected on the Committee. That MR. V. W. YORKE be re-elected Treasurer. That MR. J. PENOYRE be re-elected Secretary; seconded by MR. W. S. GEORGE and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Auditors, Messrs. PRICE WATERHOUSE, moved by MR. YORKE and seconded by MR. PENOYRE, was carried unanimously.

At the special meeting convened for 5 p.m., the RT. HON. JAMES BRYCE, O.M., occupied the chair and, being introduced by MR. MACMILLAN, delivered an address.

In the course of his remarks Mr. Bryce said that he had been absent for seven years, and so had not been able to follow closely the doings of the British School at Athens. But the love of Greece was a passion which if duly imbibed early in life never left a man until the end of life itself. (Hear, hear.) He had been struck in reading the report by the variety of the work which the School was doing. There was hardly a field of endeavour in ancient and mediaeval art which was not being covered. First of all there was Crete, and he was delighted to know that the School was still conducting excavations there. Having visited the Greek isles more than once he felt sure that there was a great deal still to be done there. Then he saw that the School was conducting investigations in Asia Minor. Asia Minor was one of the most interesting countries in the world. It was a country which had twice been reformed by the incoming and civilisation of new races, so that one might think that little trace remained of the original inhabitants. But he believed that the archaeologists who were excavating there were going through stratum after stratum until some evidences of the primitive peoples should be uncovered. Then he gathered that a study was being made of Hellenic dialects in order to discover the original elements of which the Greek people were composed. In fact, there was no period of history on which their School might not throw light.

A BRITISH SCHOOL AT CAIRO.

Eighteen years ago—in 1895—he had taken a chair at a meeting of the School and the present Prime Minister delivered an address, in which he spoke of the need of the assistance from the Government which they soon afterwards obtained. How much had been done in those eighteen years. They had been years of great progress. The Cretan work had been almost entirely done in that period, and very great interest had been shown in Byzantine studies. The revival of interest in Byzantine studies first came in Germany, and it was very much to be desired that they in England should do a little more also, and he was glad to see that the students were paying a little more attention to it. He thought a new departure might be made in the shape of a school for the study of the Mussulman world. (Hear, hear.) Apart from archaeological interests it was important for practical purposes that they should have a full grasp of Islamism and all that that meant. Would not Cairo be a good centre for a British school of this kind? It surely would not be difficult to find men for such a school who were well versed in Egyptian culture and tradition, nor should it be impossible to get assistance such as had been given to the School at Athens for this school at Cairo, not only from England, but perhaps from Egypt itself. (Hear, hear.)

FRESH FIELDS TO CONQUER.

He had dealt with the past and with the present; it was natural therefore to look forward and to ask how much work remained for the future. All the great nations had been at work on Hellenic studies for the last forty years, but so far from the field being exhausted, they seemed to have opened up new regions. He would like to make a few suggestions which had occurred to him in the course of his travels. He had been deeply interested by a study of the Greek antiquities in the Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg, and he thought it would be interesting to investigate how far into Scythian life and culture Greek influence had penetrated. Then the recent discoveries in Central Asia had led to the knowledge that Greek culture had extended further into these regions than had ever been supposed, and it would be valuable to know how far these traces could be found to lead. He did not know if influences of Greek art had been found in Tibet, but he did know that they had been found in China and Japan. He had been very much struck the other day by a letter from an American archaeologist or great fame who had been conducting excavations in Peru and Bolivia, and who had been much impressed by the similarity of the forms and designs with those discovered in Troy. He would not suggest that there was any identity between Peru and the shores of the Ægean, but it raised the question whether it was not possible in the case of similar traditions found in different parts of the world that they could be accounted for without insisting on the historical connection. Some day they would be able as the result of the work of the British School to rewrite the history of the ancient world. The main thing to do was what the School was doing. That was, get hold of all the facts. Excavation was the most important thing, for when a new building was put up or a new railway built there was the end of all that was beneath. He hoped that members of the School would follow the railway engineers. (Hear, hear.) After excavation came the important task of reading inscriptions. They might feel that if they went on as the School was going on there would be less discoveries to be made by those who came after them, and they would be able to enter upon the fruit of their labours. (Cheers.)

MR. R. M. DAWKINS gave an illustrated description of the excavations at the Kamares cave.

MR. PENOYRE named the contributors to the exhibition of drawings and photographs.

A vote of thanks to the chair was moved by LORD COLCHESTER, seconded by SIR JOHN SANDYS, and carried unanimously.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1912–1913.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE AND EXCAVATIONS.

3RD OCTOBER, 1912, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1913.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received for the year	818	13	0			
Subscriptions received for past years	10	1	0			
				828	14	0
Government Grant				500	0	0
Interest on Investment to July 5th, 1913				60	0	0
Interest on Deposit Account to June 30th, 1913				43	12	6
Sale of Annuals, Vols. I–XVI				180	2	0
Sale of Indices to the Annual				42	16	6
Special Donation for Excavations at Datcha				1	0	0
Special Donation for Excavations at Kamares Cave				40	0	0
				£1,696	5	0

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Maintenance (as provided from London to June 30th, 1913)				50	2	4
Hostel Maintenance (as provided from London to June 30th, 1913)	124	6	1			
Less Students' Fees	63	15	3			
				60	10	10
Salary, Director				500	0	0
Salary, Assistant Director				150	0	0
Publication of Annual (Vol. XVIII.)				384	17	7
Secretary, Salary to June 30th, 1913				40	0	0
Rent to September 30th, 1913				10	0	0
Printing, Postage and Stationery, &c.				31	3	6
Studentship (Mr. Casson)				100	0	0
Grant (Mr. Droop)				100	0	0
Acropolis Catalogue				4	10	0
Excavations: at Kamares Cave	126	7	0			
Travelling and Sundry Expenses	12	14	11			
	139	1	11			
Less Refund, in connection with Excavations at Thessaly	10	7	4			
				128	14	7
Balance, being excess of Receipts over Expenditure				136	6	2
				£1,696	5	0

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

3RD OCTOBER, 1912, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1913

	£	s.	d.
Donations, as per list	12	2	0
Bequest (Miss Cartwright)	179	14	10
	£191	16	10

	£	s.	d.
Library	116	19	1
Balance, being excess of Receipts over Expenditure	74	17	9
	£191	16	10

BALANCE ACCOUNT, 2ND OCTOBER, 1913.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions paid in advance . .				7	6	0
Anniversary Fund as per last Account . .	287	0	6			
Donation during year	2	0	0			
				289	0	6
Mrs. Sach's Trust Fund (Income Account), being income to date in respect of £400 British South African Company Mortgage Debenture Bonds				19	8	4
Balance, representing the assets of the School other than land, building, furniture, and library, as per last Account . . .	3,045	15	1			
Add Balance of Revenue Account for year .	136	6	2			
	3,182	1	3			
Add Balance of Capital Account	74	17	9			
				3,256	19	0
				£3,572	13	10

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Investment—India 3% Stock, at par				2,000	0	0
Cash at Bank :						
On Current Account	369	3	10			
On Deposit Account	1,200	0	0			
				1,569	3	10
Sundry Debtors				3	10	0
				£3,572	13	10

Examined and found correct,

EDWIN WATERHOUSE, F.C A.

28th October, 1913.

DONATIONS—1912-1913.

ANNIVERSARY FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Tuckett, F. F.	2	0	0

DONATIONS, 1912-1913.

	£	s.	d.
Cartwright, Miss (Bequest)	179	14	10
Richmond, Bishop of	2	2	0
Woodward, W. H.	10	0	0
	£191	16	10

SPECIAL DONATIONS FOR EXCAVATIONS.

	£	s.	d.
For Datcha.			
Eumorfopoulos, N.	1	0	0
For Kamares Cave.			
Abercromby, Hon. J.	40	0	0

MRS. SACHS' STUDENTSHIP FUND (Income Account).

	£	s.	d.
Sachs, Mrs.	19	8	4

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1912-1913.

	£	s.	d.
The University of Oxford	100	0	0
The University of Cambridge	100	0	0
The Hellenic Society	100	0	0
The Society of Antiquaries	5	5	0
The Leeds Library	1	0	0
Brasenose College, Oxford	5	0	0
Caius College, Cambridge	10	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford	20	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford	5	0	0
King's College, Cambridge	10	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford	20	0	0
McGill University	5	5	0
St. John's College Library	1	0	0
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, Lausanne	1	1	0
Victoria University of Manchester	5	0	0
Westminster School Library	1	1	0
Museo di Gessi	1	0	0
Emanuel College	5	0	0
Nettleship Library	1	0	0
	£396	12	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	396	12	0
Abercromby, Hon. J.	2	2	0
Acland, Henry Dyke	1	1	0
Allbutt, Prof. Sir T.	1	1	0
Allen, Miss E. M.	1	0	0
Anderson, James	1	1	0
Anson, Sir W. R.	10	0	0
Ashby, Thomas	1	1	0
Bailey, C.	1	1	0
Bailey, J. C.	5	0	0
Barlow, Sir T.	1	1	0
Barrington, Mrs. Russell	1	1	0
Beaumont, H. D.	1	1	0
Benecke, P. V. M.	2	2	0
Bevan, E. R.	1	0	0
Blackburn, Mrs.	1	1	0
Blomfield, R.	2	2	0
Bosanquet, Miss E. P.	1	1	0
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C.	1	1	0
Briggs, Miss E. M.	1	1	0
Bristol, Bishop of	1	1	0
Brooke, Rev. Stopford	1	1	0
Brooks, E. W.	1	0	0
Burnett, J. J.	1	1	0
Burrows, Dr. R. M.	1	1	0
Bury, Prof. J. B.	1	1	0
Buxton, A. F.	1	1	0
Carlisle, Miss	1	1	0
Carr, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£441	18	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	441	18	0
Carrington, J. B.	1	1	0
Caspari, M.	1	1	0
Caton, R.	1	1	0
Christie, Miss A.	1	1	0
Clark, C. R.	1	0	0
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B.	1	1	0
Clausen, A. C.	2	2	0
Clissold, H.	1	0	0
Colchester, Lord	5	0	0
Cole, A. C.	2	2	0
Compton, Rev. W. C.	1	1	0
Cooke, R.	1	1	0
Corbett, Sir V.	1	0	0
Crewdson, Miss G.	1	1	0
Crowfoot, J. W.	2	2	0
Cruddas, Miss	2	2	0
Curtis, Mrs. Omodei	1	0	0
Davidson, H. O. D.	1	1	0
Dickins, Mrs. A. L.	1	1	0
Donaldson, Rev. S. A.	1	1	0
Dorpfeld, Prof.	1	1	0
Droop, J. P.	1	1	0
Dundas, R. H.	1	0	0
Elliot, Sir F. E. H.	1	0	0
Empedocles, G.	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, G.	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Evans, A. J.	10	0	0
Carried forward	£489	1	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1912–1913 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	489	1	0
Evans, F. Gwynne	1	1	0
Farside, Mrs.	1	1	0
Fell, S. P.	1	0	0
Fletcher, H. M.	1	1	0
Forbes, W. H.	1	1	0
Forster, E. S.	1	0	0
Fort, J. A.	1	0	0
Fotheringham, J. K.	1	0	0
Fowler, W. W.	1	1	0
Freshfield, D. W.	10	0	0
Frisch, E. S.	1	0	0
Fry, Sir E.	1	1	0
Furneaux, L. R.	1	0	0
Gardiner, E. Norman	1	0	0
Gardner, Prof. E. A.	1	1	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy	2	2	0
Giveen, R. L.	1	1	0
Goldsmith, Dr.	1	1	0
Gooch, G. P.	1	1	0
Goodwin, J. A.	1	1	0
Graham, E.	1	1	0
Griffith, F. Ll.	1	1	0
Haigh, P. B.	1	0	0
Hall, H. R.	1	1	0
Halliday, Miss C. H.	1	1	0
Halliday, W. R.	1	1	0
Handcock, W.	1	1	0
Hart, Mrs. P.	1	1	0
Hasluck, P. P.	1	1	0
Hawes, Miss	1	1	0
Heberden, C. B.	2	2	0
Henderson, A. E.	1	0	0
Hett, W. S.	1	1	0
Hodgkin, J. E.	1	1	0
Hodgkin, Miss Violet	1	1	0
Hodgkin, Thomas	10	0	0
Hogarth, D. G.	1	1	0
Hooper, G. N.	1	1	0
Hopkinson, J. H.	1	1	0
Hutton, Miss C. A.	3	3	0
Impey, E.	1	1	0
James, Rev. S. R.	2	0	0
Johnston, Miss K.	1	0	0
Kenyon, Sir F. G.	1	1	0
Keser, Dr.	1	1	0
Lascelles, B. P.	1	0	0
La Touch, C. D.	1	0	0
Lawrence, A.	1	1	0
Leaf, Herbert	5	5	0
Leaf, Walter	50	0	0
Leigh, E. C. A.	1	1	0
Lewis, Mrs. A. S.	2	2	0
Carried forward	£620	6	0
Brought forward	620	6	0
Lindley, Miss J.	1	1	0
Livesay, W.	1	0	0
Lloyd, Miss	1	1	0
Loewy, Prof. D. E.	1	1	0
Lorimer, Miss H. L.	1	0	0
Loring, W.	1	1	0
Lucas, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Lunn, W. H.	1	1	0
Lynch, H. F.	2	2	0
Lyttelton, Canon Hon. and Rev. E.	1	1	0
Macan, R. W.	1	1	0
McIver, D. R.	1	0	0
MacLehose, James J.	1	1	0
Macmillan, G. A.	50	0	0
Macmillan, W. E. F.	1	1	0
Marindin, G. E.	1	1	0
Marshall, F. H.	1	1	0
Matthews, Mrs.	1	1	0
Mayor, R. J. G.	1	1	0
Miller, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Miller, W.	2	2	0
Milne, J. G.	1	1	0
Minturn, Miss E. T.	1	1	0
Mitchell, Mrs. E. H.	2	2	0
Moncrieff, Sir C. S.	1	1	0
Morrison, W.	10	0	0
Moss, Rev. Preb. H. W.	1	1	0
Myers, E.	1	1	0
Mylne, Mrs.	2	2	0
Newman, W. L.	2	2	0
Nightingale, Mrs. H. Shore	1	1	0
Ogden, Mrs. P.	2	2	0
Palli, Mrs. F. L.	1	1	0
Pearse, Rev. T. N. Hart-Smith	1	1	0
Pearson, Miss E. R.	1	0	0
Pease, Mrs. J. W.	5	5	0
Pennant, Hon. Alice D.	1	1	0
Penoyre, J. B.	1	0	0
Penrose, Miss	1	1	0
Pesel, Miss Louisa F.	1	1	0
Phillimore, Prof. J. S.	1	1	0
Pickard-Cambridge, A. W.	1	0	0
Piddington, J. G.	2	2	0
Pilkington, A. C.	1	0	0
Pilkington, R. A.	1	0	0
Pollock, Sir F.	1	1	0
Poynter, Sir E. J.	5	0	0
Pryor, M. R.	1	0	0
Pyddoke, Miss M.	1	1	0
Radford, Miss E.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£745	15	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1912–1913 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	745	15	0
Reid, Dr.	1	1	0
Rendall, Dr.	1	1	0
Richards, H. P.	1	1	0
Ridgeway, Prof. W.	1	1	0
Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys	1	1	0
Rodd, Sir R.	1	1	0
Rotton, Sir J. F.	2	2	0
Sandys, Sir J. E.	1	1	0
Schultz, R. W.	1	1	0
Seaman, Owen	1	1	0
Searle, G. von U.	1	1	0
Seebohm, H. E.	1	1	0
Shove, Miss E.	1	1	0
Sloane, Miss	1	1	0
Smith, A. H.	1	1	0
Strangeways, L. R.	1	0	0
Tancock, Rev. C. C.	1	1	0
Thompson, F. E.	1	1	0
Tod, J. N.	1	1	0
Tod, M. N.	1	0	0
Tod, Mrs.	10	0	0
Tozer, Rev. H. F.	10	0	0
Tuckett, F. F.	1	0	0
Carried forward	£788	14	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	788	14	0
Tuke, Miss	1	1	0
Vaughan, E. L.	1	0	0
Vince, J. H.	1	0	0
Wace, Mrs.	2	2	0
Wagner, H.	2	2	0
Waldstein, Sir C.	1	1	0
Ward, Sir A. W.	1	0	0
Warren, T. H.	1	1	0
Weber, Sir H.	1	1	0
Webster, E. W.	1	0	0
Wells, J.	1	1	0
Welsh, Miss	2	2	0
Whibley, Leonard	1	0	0
Wilson, Major H. C. B.	1	1	0
Wilson, R. D.	1	1	0
Withers, J. J.	1	1	0
Woodhouse, W. J.	1	1	0
Woodward, A. M.	1	1	0
Wyndham, Hon. M.	1	1	0
Wright, C. T. H.	1	1	0
Yorke, V. W.	5	0	0
Zimmern, A. E.	1	1	0
Total	£818	13	0

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Received during the year				832	17	0
Paid in advance last year				3	3	0
				836	0	0
Less Paid in advance at date	7	6	0			
Paid on account of 1910–11 as below	1	0	0			
Paid on account of 1911–12 as below	9	1	0			
				17	7	0
				£818	13	0

Received during the year subscriptions for 1910–11 :—

	£	s.	d.
University College of Reading	£1	0	0

Received during the year subscriptions for 1911–12 :—

	£	s.	d.
Victoria University of Manchester	£5	0	0
University College, Reading	1	0	0
Beaumont, H. D.	1	1	0
Haigh, P. B.	1	0	0
Morshead, E. D. A.	1	0	0
	£9	1	0

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

Note. Under No. V. of the Rules and Regulations, "the following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.
(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription."

In making out the following list, donations of less than £10 have been regarded as aggregate annual subscriptions of £1, and are spread over a corresponding number of years.

The Treasurer would be glad to be informed of any changes of address or errors in this list, which is made up to June 30th, 1914.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.
The University of Oxford.
*The University of Cambridge.
The University of Sheffield, Edgar Allen Library.
The McGill University, Montreal.
The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.
The Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly.
The Society of Dilettanti (per E. H. Pember, Esq., K.C.).
Brasenose College, Oxford.
Caius College, Cambridge.
Christ Church, Oxford.
Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
King's College, Cambridge.
Magdalen College, Oxford.
Manchester. Victoria University of
Marburg. Library of the Archaeological Seminar of
Museo di Gessi, R. Università di Roma, Rome.
Nettleship Library, Clarendon Buildings, Oxford.
Newnham College, Cambridge.
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, Valentin 44, Lausanne.
Queen's College, Oxford.
St. John's College, Cambridge.
The Institute of Archaeology, 38–42, Bedford Street, Liverpool.
The Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, Conduit Street, W.
The Greek Play Committee, Cambridge.
The Worshipful Company of Clothworkers, Mincing Lane, E.C.
The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, Goldsmiths' Hall, E.C.
The Leeds Library, Commercial Street, Leeds.
University College, Reading.
Westminster School Library.

Abercromby, The Hon. John, 62, Palmerston Place, Edinburgh.
Acland, Henry Dyke, Esq., Chy an Mor, Gyllyngvase, Falmouth.
Agg-Gardner, J. T., Esq., Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
Alexander, W. C., Esq., 24, Lombard St., E.C.
Allbutt, Prof. Sir T. Clifford, K.C.B., F.R.S., M.D., St. Rhadegunds, Cambridge.
Allen, Miss E. M., Southernhaye, Lyme Regis.
Anderson, James, Esq., 19, Odos Loukianou, Athens.

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* Address to C. E. Grant, Esq., King's College, Cambridge (Secretary to the Financial Board).

Ashby, Thos., Esq., British School at Rome, Palazzo Odescalchi, Rome.
Austen-Leigh, E. C., Esq., Eton College.

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Brown, Adam, Esq., Netherby, Galashiels.
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Carr, Rear-Admiral, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
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Carrington, J. B., Esq., 28, Hertford Street, Mayfair, W.
Caspari, M. O. B., Esq., University College, Gower Street, W.C.
Caton, R. Esq., M.D., Holly Lea, Livingstone Drive South, Liverpool.
Chamberlain, The Right Hon. J. Austen, M.P., 9, Egerton Place, S.W.
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Clarke-Thornhill, T. B., Esq., 3, Carlisle Place, S.W.
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Clissold, H., Esq., Clifton College, Bristol.
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Colvin, Sir Sidney, 35, Palace Gardens Terrace, Kensington, W.
Compton, The Rev. W. C., Sandhurst Rectory, Kent.
Cooke, R., Esq., The Croft, Detling, Maidstone.
Corbett, Sir Vincent, K.C.V.O., British Legation, Munich, Bavaria.
Cornford, F. M., Esq., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Crewdson, Wilson, Esq., Southside, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
Crewdson, Miss, Homewood, Woburn Sands, Beds. R.S.O.
Crowfoot, J. W., Esq., Khartum, Soudan.
Cruddas, Miss, Haughton Castle, Humshaugh-on-Tyne, Northumberland.

Daniel, A. M., Esq., 14, Royal Crescent, Scarborough.
Daniel, Mrs., 14, Royal Crescent, Scarborough.
Darbishire, R. S., Esq., Shelby City, Kentucky, U.S.A.
Darwin, Sir G. H., K.C.B., F.R.S., Cambridge.
Davidson, H. O. D., Esq., Tarland, Nairn, N.B.
Dawkins, R. M., Esq., British School, Athens, Greece.
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1886—1914.

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1886—1914.

Prof. J. B. Bury, LL.D., Litt.D., D.Litt.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Elected 1895.
Sir Arthur J. Evans, LL.D., D.Litt., F.R.S.	Late Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Elected 1895.
Prof. J. Linton Myres, M.A.	A former Student of the School. Elected 1896.
Prof. Ernest Gardner, M.A.	Formerly Director of the School. Elected 1897.
Prof. A. van Millingen, M.A., D.D.	Professor of History at Robert College, Constantinople. Elected 1904.
W. H. Forbes, M.A.	Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Elected 1906.
Prof. W. J. Woodhouse.	Professor in the University of Sydney. Formerly Student of the School. Elected 1908.
A. J. B. Wace, M.A.	Lecturer in Ancient History and Archaeology at the University of St. Andrews. Elected 1912.
J. D. Beazley, M.A.	Student of Christ Church. Elected 1914.
E. N. Gardiner, M.A.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Elected 1914.

STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.[1]

1886—1914.

Ernest A. Gardner. M.A., Litt. D.	Formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge and Craven University Student. Yates Professor of Archaeology in the University of London. Admitted 1886—87. Director of the School, 1887—1895. Hon. Student of the School.
David G. Hogarth. M.A.	Fellow and formerly Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, and first Craven Fellow. Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum. Director of the School 1897—1900. Admitted 1886—87. Re-admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
Rupert C. Clarke. M.A.	Exeter College, Oxford. Rector of Ellesborough, Bucks and Rural Dean of Wendover. Admitted 1886—87.
F. H. H. Guillemard. M.A., M.D., F.L.S., etc.	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. First University Reader in Geography. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
Montague R. James. Litt.D.	Provost and late Tutor of King's College, Cambridge. Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88, with grant of £100 from the University.
R. Elsey Smith. F.R.I.B.A.	Professor of Architecture and Construction, King's College, London. Appointed to Studentship by Royal Institute of British Architects, 1887—88.
Robert Weir Schultz.	Admitted as Gold Medallist and Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1888—89, 1889—90.
Sidney H. Barnsley.	Admitted as Student of the Royal Academy, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1889—90, 1890—91.
J. A. R. Munro. M.A.	Fellow and Lecturer of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
H. Arnold Tubbs. M.A.	Pembroke College, Oxford. Craven University Fellow. Professor of Classics at University College, Auckland, N.Z. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
J. G. Frazer. M.A.	Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90, with grant of £100 from the University of Cambridge to collect material for commentary on Pausanias.[2]
William Loring. M.A.	Warden of Goldsmiths' College, New Cross. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Secretary of the School, 1897—1903. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Student, 1890—91, 1891—92, and 1892—93.

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[1] * Before a name signifies "deceased."

[2] This grant was afterwards returned to the University.

W. J. Woodhouse. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, N.S.W. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Political Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1891—92 and 1892—93.
G. C. Richards. M.A.	Late Fellow of Hertford College. Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. Formerly Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1889—90. Re-admitted 1890—91.
O. H. Parry. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of All Hallows, East India Dock. Formerly Archbishop's Missioner to the Nestorian Christians. Admitted 1889—90.
J. F. R. Stainer. M.A., B.C.L.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889—90.
R. A. H. Bickford-Smith. M.A., F.S.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90.
A. G. Bather. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Winchester College. Admitted 1889—90. Re-admitted 1891—92, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1892—93 as Prendergast Greek Student; and again, 1893—94, as Cambridge Student.
E. E. Sikes. M.A.	Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1890—91.
J. G. Milne. M.A.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1890—91.
H. Stuart Jones. M.A.	Fellow and formerly Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Formerly Director of the British School at Rome. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890—91. Re-admitted 1892—93.
Miss Eugénie Sellers (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).	Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the British School at Rome. Formerly Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's Collections. Admitted 1890—91.
F. Brayne Baker. M.A.	Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891—92.
C. C. Inge. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of Holmwood, Surrey. Appointed 1891—92 to the Oxford Studentship.
E. F. Benson, M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891—92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892—93 on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1893—94 as Craven Student; and 1894—95 as Prendergast Student.
J. G. Piddington. B.A. (J. G. Smith)	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891—92. Re-admitted 1895—96.
V. W. Yorke. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1893—94.
J. L. Myres. M.A.	Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Student and Tutor of Christ Church. University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology. Gladstone Professor of Greek in the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1892—93 as Craven Fellow. Re-admitted 1893—94 and 1894—95. Hon. Student of the School.

R. J. G. Mayor. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. Admitted 1892—93.
R. C. Bosanquet. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Assistant Director of the School, 1899—1900. Director 1900—1906. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1894—95. Re-admitted as Craven Student 1895—96 and 1896—97.
J. M. Cheetham, M.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship. 1892—93.
E. R. Bevan. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893—94.
A. F. Findlay. M.A.	Sent out as holder of Browne-Downie Fellowship by the United Presbyterian Church, Divinity Hall, Edinburgh. Admitted 1894—95.
J. G. Duncan. M.A., B.D.	Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894—95.
J. E. Brooks. M.A.	St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Associate 1896—97.
*H. Awdry. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894—95.
Duncan Mackenzie. M.A. (Edin.), Ph.D. (Vienna)	Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Carnegie Fellow in History at the University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—6. Re-admitted 1896—97, 1897—98 and 1898—99.
Archibald Paterson.	University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96.
C. R. Rowland Clark.	Student of the Royal Academy. Appointed 1895—96, and re-appointed 1896—97, by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship.
C. C. Edgar. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Inspector of Antiquities for Lower Egypt. Admitted 1895—96, and re-admitted 1896—97 (as Craven University Fellow), 1897—98 and 1898—99.
F. R. Earp. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
*F. A. C. Morrison. M.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted (as Prendergast Greek Student) 1896—97.
H. H. West. M.A.	Formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Miss C. A. Hutton.	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Pieter Rodeck.	Architect, Cairo. Admitted 1896—97 as Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy.
J. G. C. Anderson. M.A.	Formerly Fellow of Lincoln College. Student, Tutor, and sometime Senior Censor of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896—97.
J. W. Crowfoot. M.A.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Inspector in the Ministry of Education, Cairo. Formerly Assistant Director of Education and Acting Curator of Antiquities, Sudan Government. Lecturer in Classics, Mason College and University, Birmingham. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896—97. Re-admitted 1897—98.
W. W. Reid.	Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896—97.

A. E. Henderson. F.S.A. R.B.A.	Owen Jones Student of Royal Institute of British Architects, 1897—98. Admitted 1897—98. Re-admitted 1898—99, 1901—02, and 1902—03.
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F. B. Welch. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Second Master at Pocklington School. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
T. D. Atkinson. F.R.I.B.A.	Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Ely. Admitted as Architectural Student, 1898—99.
J. K. Fotheringham. M.A., D.Litt.	Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Lecturer in Ancient History at King's College, London. Examiner in the University of London; Brassey Research Student. Admitted on appointment to Oxford Studentship, 1898—99.
J. H. Hopkinson. M.A.	University College, Oxford. Warden of Hulme Hall and Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, University of Manchester. Formerly Lecturer in Greek, University of Birmingham. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1899—1900 and 1900—01.
S. C. Kaines-Smith.	Magdalene College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Cambridge Studentship.
Miss O. C. Köhler (Mrs. Charles Smith).	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900.
D. Theodore Fyfe. F.R.I.B.A.	Architectural Association Travelling Student, 1899. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Architectural Studentship.
†K. T. Frost. M.A., F.R.G.S.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Lecturer at the Queen's University, Belfast. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1900—01.
R. D. Wells. M.A., A.R.I.B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1900—01.

† Killed in action, September, 1914.

J. ff. Baker-Penoyre. M.A.	Keble College, Oxford. Secretary and Librarian to the Society for Promoting Hellenic Studies. Secretary to the British School at Athens. Admitted 1900—01. Re-admitted 1906—7, 1907—8.
Marcus N. Tod. M.A.	Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and University Lecturer in Greek Epigraphy. Craven University Fellow. Assistant-Director of the School 1902—1904. Admitted on appointment to "Senior Studentship," 1901–02.
F. W. Hasluck. M.A.	Sometime Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the School from 1906. Admitted on appointment to Cambridge Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1902—03, 1904—05, 1905—06, 1906—07, 1907—8, 1908—9, 1909—10, 1910—11.
C. Heaton Comyn. A.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I.	Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1903-04.
Miss H. L. Lorimer.	Girton College, Cambridge. Classical Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as Pfeiffer Travelling Student, 1901—02.
Baroness E. Rosenörn-Lehn.	Royal Holloway College, and University College, London. Admitted 1901—02.
A. P. Oppé. B.A.	New College, Oxford. Victoria and Albert Museum. Formerly Examiner in the Board of Education. Lecturer in Greek at St. Andrews University, and Lecturer in Ancient History at Edinburgh University. Admitted 1901—02.
W. L. H. Duckworth. M.D., Sc.D., M.A.	Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology. Admitted 1902—03.
C. T. Currelly. M.A., F.R.G.S.	Victoria College, Toronto. Director of the Royal Museum, Ontario. Formerly Assistant to Professor Flinders Petrie, under the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903–04.
R. McG. Dawkins. M.A.	Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Director of the School from 1906—14. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted as Craven Student, 1903—04. Re-admitted 1904—05.
E. S. Forster. M.A., F.S.A.	Bishop Frazer's Scholar, Oriel College, Oxford. Lecturer in Greek in the University of Sheffield. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in the University College of N. Wales. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903-04, with grants from the Craven Fund and Oriel College.
A. J. B. Wace. M.A.	Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Director-elect of the School. Lecturer in Ancient History and Archaeology at University of St. Andrews. Prendergast Student. Craven Student. Assistant Director of the British School at Rome, 1905. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903—04, 1904—05, 1905—06, 1906—07, 1907—08, 1908—09, 1909—10, 1910—11.
E. W. Webster. M.A.	Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Taylorian Scholar in German, 1901. John Locke Scholar in Mental Philosophy, 1904. Admitted 1902—03.
J. F. Fulton.	Soane Student. Admitted 1902—03.
E. F. Reynolds.	Admitted 1902—03.
M. O. B. Caspari. B.A.	Late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. University Scholar in German. Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. Admitted 1903—04.

J. L. Stokes. B.A.	Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Librarian of Charterhouse School. Admitted (as Holder of the Prior Scholarship from Pembroke College), 1903–04.
Miss M. K. Welsh (Mrs. A. M. Daniel).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Holder of the Marion Kennedy Studentship. Admitted 1903–04.
G. Dickins. M.A.	Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1904—05. Re-admitted as School Student, 1905—06, 1906—07, 1907—08, 1908—09. Re-admitted 1912—13.
C. C. T. Doll. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Superintending Architect at the excavations at Knossos since 1905. Admitted 1904—05.
C. H. Hawes. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Anthropology Dartmouth College, U.S.A. Admitted 1904—05.
W. A. Kirkwood. M.A.	University College, Toronto. Admitted 1904—05.
H. J. W. Tillyard. M.A.	Caius College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Greek, University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1904—05 as Assistant Librarian. Re-admitted 1905—06 (on appointment to Studentship), 1906—07, 1908—09. Re-admitted 1912—13.
Miss G. M. A. Richter. M.A.	Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant Curator in Department of Classical Antiquities, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Admitted 1904—05.
J. P. Droop. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Late Assistant to Dr. Stein in the arrangement of his collections. Admitted 1905—06. Prendergast Student 1906—07, 1907—08, 1908—09, 1910—11. Re-admitted 1912—13.
Miss M. Hamilton. M.A. D.Litt. (Mrs. G. Dickins).	University of St. Andrews. Holder of a Research Fellowship under the Carnegie Trust. Admitted 1905—06, 1906—07.
A. C. B. Brown. B.A.	Scholar of New College, Oxford. Fereday Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Manchester University. Assistant Master at Marlborough College. Admitted 1905—06.
F. Orr.	Admitted 1905—06.
R. Traquair. A.R.I.B.A.	Admitted 1905—06 (on appointment to an Architectural Studentship). Professor of Architecture, McGill University, Montreal. Student of the Byzantine Fund.
Miss E. B. Abrahams. M.A.	University College, London. Admitted 1905—06.
J. Farrell. M.A.	Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1906—07, 1907—08, 1908—09.
Walter S. George.	Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal College of Art. Soane Medallist of Royal Institute of British Architects. Admitted 1906—07. Re-admitted 1908—9, 1909—10, as Student of the Byzantine Research Fund. Re-admitted 1912—13.
T. E. Peet. B.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Officer of Egypt Explor. Fund. Admitted as Craven Fellow 1906—07, 1908—09.
A. M. Woodward. M.A.	Late Classical Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Assistant Lecturer in Classics and Ancient History at the University of Leeds. Assistant Director, 1909—10. Admitted 1906—7, 1907—08, 1908—09.
W. M. Calder. B.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Professor of Greek in Victoria University, Manchester. Formerly Wilson Travelling Fellow, Aberdeen University. Research Student, Brasenose College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—08.

W. Harvey.	Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1907—08.
H. Pirie-Gordon. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—08.
M. S. Thompson. B.A.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Holder of Chas. Oldham University Scholarship. Admitted 1907—08, 1908—09, 1909—10, 1910—11.
A. C. Sheepshanks. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Eton. Admitted 1907—08.
N. Whatley. M.A.	Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—08.
G. L. Cheesman. M.A.	Fellow and Lecturer of New College, Oxford. Admitted 1908—09.
A. W. Gomme. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Lecturer in Greek, University of Glasgow. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Liverpool University. Prendergast Student. Admitted 1908—09.
L. B. Budden. B.A.	Travelling Student in Architecture of the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1909—10.
S. W. Grose. B.A.	Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. School Student. Admitted 1909—10.
H. A. Ormerod. B.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Assistant Lecturer in Greek, University of Liverpool. Admitted 1909—10, 1910—11.
H. H. Jewell.	Royal Academy Gold Medallist. Admitted 1909—10.
W. R. Halliday. B.A., B.Litt.	New College, Oxford. Rathbone Professor of Ancient History in the University of Liverpool. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1910—11. Re-admitted 1912—13.
Miss D. Lamb.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910—11; 1913—14.
Miss L. E. Tennant. (Mrs. F. J. Watson Taylor.)	Admitted 1910—11.
E. S. G. Robinson. B.A.	Christ's College, Oxford. Assistant in the Coin and Medal Dept., British Museum. School Student. Admitted 1910—11.
L. B. Tillard. B.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910—11.
A. J. Toynbee. M.A.	Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1911—12.
B. V. Darbishire. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1911—12.
Miss M. M. Hardie. (Mrs. F. W. Hasluck.)	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1911—12.
E. M. W. Tillyard. B.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1911—12.
W. M. Laistner. B.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Craven Student. Admitted 1912—13. Re-admitted 1913—14 as School Student.
S. Casson. B.A.	St. John's College, Oxford. School Student. Admitted 1912—13. Re-admitted 1913—14.
R. S. Lambert.	Repton School.
Gordon Leith.	Holder of Herbert Baker Studentship. Admitted 1912—13.
C. A. Scutt. B.A.	Prendergast Student of the University of Cambridge. Admitted 1912—13. Re-admitted 1913—14.
Miss M. N. L. Taylor.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1913—14.
J. Arnott Hamilton. M.A.	University of Edinburgh. Holder of the Blackie Scholarship. Admitted 1913—14.
Miss E. Radford.	Admitted 1913—14.
Miss Agnes Conway.	Admitted 1913—14.
Rev. W. A. Wigram. D.D.	Admitted 1913—14.

ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

Rev. A. H. Cruikshank.	Elected	1896.
Ambrose Poynter, Esq.	,,	1896.
J. E. Brooks, Esq.	,,	1896.
Miss Louisa Pesel.	,,	1902.
J. F. Crace, Esq.	,,	1902.
Miss Mona Wilson.	,,	1903.
J. S. Carter, Esq.	,,	1903.
B. Townsend, Esq.	,,	1903
A. M. Daniel, Esq.	,,	1903.
H. W. Allen, Esq.	,,	1906.
W. Miller, Esq.	,,	1906.
George Kennedy, Esq.	,,	1906.
A. E. Zimmern, Esq.	,,	1910.
Miss Negreponte.	,,	1912.
C. J. Ellingham, Esq.	,,	1913.
Capt. H. M. Greaves, R.A.	,,	1913.

SUGGESTED PLAN OF STUDY.

Under an ideal system a student would spend two or three seasons in Greece, devoting *the first year to general studies, the second to some special subject.*

During the first year the student, while not losing sight of his special subject, might apportion his time thus:—

August and September.—Learn German in Berlin, Munich, or Dresden, and thus be able to profit by the three or four courses of lectures given by the Secretaries of the German and Austrian Institutes in Athens. For archaeological literature some knowledge of German is practically essential.

October.—Arrive in Greece. Acquire if possible some use of Modern Greek. See Olympia, Delphi, Mycenae, Epidaurus, the Argive Heraion, before the November rains.

November (middle).—Remain three or four months in Athens steadily working at sites and in Museums, attending courses of lectures and making frequent short excursions to points of interest by train, cycle, etc.

March and April.—Travel, study sites, join one of the Island cruises for students.

May and June.—Begin to concentrate on special work, *e.g.* assist in excavations, with a view to working upon the results during the coming year and excavating with more or less complete control in the second summer,

or explore a given district in Greece or Asia Minor, an island or a group of islands,

or work in museums in Italy, Austria, or Germany,

or attend lectures in Pompeii and spend some months in Rome and the cooler Etruscan cities. In this case the student is advised to attach himself to the British School at Rome (Palazzo Odescalchi), in order that he may be admitted to the Library, and have the right to attend the lectures (see rules of the School).

The second year should be devoted almost entirely to special work in a narrower field.

The course here suggested must be modified to suit each case. There will always be students who are already specialists in some branch of classical learning and only seek fresh material for research. There will be others who wish to see something of all sides of ancient life in order to illuminate their reading and fit themselves for general classical teaching, although they have not time for minute archaeological study.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed, and maintained, of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.
(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library, and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following:—

(1) The Trustees of the School.
(2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.
(3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.
(4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary may, with the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

HONORARY STUDENTS, STUDENTS, AND ASSOCIATES

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following :—

(1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.

(2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund, or other similar bodies.

(3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. No person, other than a student of the British School at Rome, shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands. In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence in Greece.

XXI. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXII. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXIII. The Managing Committee may elect as Honorary Students of the School such persons as they may from time to time deem worthy of that distinction, and may also elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands.

XXIV. Honorary Students, Students, and Associates shall have a right to use the Library of the School and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

THE DIRECTOR.

XXVI. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVII. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house.

XXVIII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XXI., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to assist in editing the School Annual.

XXIX. (*a*) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (*b*) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXXI. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXII. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c. which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXIII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIV. The management of the Hostel shall be at the discretion of the Director and shall be subject to his control.

XXXV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXVI. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of twelve shillings a week for the smaller, and fourteen shillings a week for the larger rooms in the Hostel. These payments shall include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVII. Honorary Students, Associates, members of the Committee, and ex-directors may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVIII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be seventeen shillings and sixpence until further notice.

XXXIX. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XL. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

PUBLICATION.

XLI. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XLII. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLIII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIV. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLV. The second claim shall be the salaries of the Director and Secretary, as arranged between them and the Managing Committee.

XLVI. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

Revised, 1913.

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1913—1914.

Edwin Freshfield, Esq., LL.D.
Walter Leaf, Esq., Litt.D.
George A. Macmillan, Esq., D.Litt., *Chairman.*
Trustees.

Professor Percy Gardner, Litt.D. Appointed by the University of Oxford.
Sir John Sandys, Litt.D. Appointed by the University of Cambridge.
Miss Jane E. Harrison, D.Litt., LL.D. Appointed by the Hellenic Society.
Miss C. A. Hutton, *ex-officio* as joint editor of the *Annual.*

Professor R. C. Bosanquet, M.A.
Sir Arthur J. Evans, D.Litt., LL.D.
Theodore Fyfe, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.
Professor Ernest Gardner, M.A.
D. G. Hogarth, Esq., M.A.
Professor J. Lynton Myres, M.A.
Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith, LL.D.
M. N. Tod, Esq., M.A.
A. J. B. Wace, Esq., M.A.
Sir Charles Waldstein, Litt.D.
L. Whibley, Esq., M.A.
A. E. Zimmern, Esq., M.A.
Appointed by the Subscribers.

V. W. Yorke, Esq., M.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C.
John ff. Baker-Penoyre, Esq., M.A., *Secretary*, 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.

DIRECTOR, 1913—1914.

R. M. Dawkins, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Assistant Director and *Librarian*:—F. W. Hasluck, Esq., M.A., Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

CONTRIBUTORS to the *Annual of the British School at Athens* are requested to use the following systems of transliteration when writing in English such Greek words as have not become part of the English language :—

ANCIENT GREEK.

Vowels.

α = *a* :
ε, η = *e* : krater, lekane.
ι = *i* : kalpis.
ο, ω = *o* : kothon, kantharos, Amyklaion.
υ = *y* after a consonant, as aryballos, kylix ; *u* after another vowel, as boule.
αι = *ai* : Aigion, Erythrai, except at the end of words, such as Mycenae, which are commonly Latinised in form, when *ae* may be used.
ει = *ei* : Meidias.
οι = *oi* : Chalkioikos.
υι = *ui* : muia.
αυ = *au* : Aulis.
ευ = *eu* : Eutychos.
ου = *ou* : boule.

Consonants.

β = *b* ; γ = *g* ; δ = *d* ; ζ = *z* ; θ = *th* ; κ = *k*[1] ; λ = *l* ; μ = *m* ; ν = *n* ; ξ = *x* ; π = *p* ; ρ = *r* ; σ, ς = *s* ; τ = *t* ; φ = *ph* ; χ = *ch* ; ψ = *ps* ; γγ = *ng* ; γκ = *nk* ; γχ = *nch* ; ῥ = *rh*.

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[1] κ never = *c* except for place-names like Corinth, Mycenae, or some names of persons like Cleon, which have become English words.

Accents.

Contributors are requested to indicate accents and breathings very clearly and accurately.

MODERN GREEK.[1]

Vowels.

α = *a* :
ε = *e* :
η = *e* :
ι = *i* :
Πέντε Πηγάδια = Pénte Pegádia.

ο, ω = *o* : Γεώργιος = Geórgios.
υ = *y* : Μολάοι = Moláoi. But for *αυ, ευ, ου* see below.
αι = *ai* : Καισαριανή = Kaisariané.
ει = *ei* : Ἁγία Εἰρήνη = Hagía Eiréne.
οι = *oi* : Μύλοι = Mýloi.
υι = *ui* : ψυχουϊός = psychoyiós.
ου = *ou* : Σκριποῦ = Skripoú.
αυ, ευ = *af* and *ef* before unvoiced consonants (θ, κ (ξ, ψ), π, ς, τ, φ, χ) and *av, ev* before vowels and voiced consonants: Εὐθύμιος = Efthýmios ; Λαύρα = Lávra.

Consonants.

β = *v* ; γ = *g*, but γγ, γκ and γχ as *ng*, *nk* and *nch* ; δ = *d* ; ζ = *z* ; θ = *th* ; κ = *k* ; λ = *l* ; μ = *m* ; ν = *n* ; ξ = *x* ; π = *p* ; ρ = *r* ; ρρ = *rrh* ; ῥ = *rh* ; σ, ς = *s* ; τ = *t* ; φ, χ, ψ = *ph*, *ch*, *ps*.

The rough breathing to be written h : Ἅγιος Γεώργιος = H. Geórgios.

Accents.

Accents, in all cases to be written as acute, to be indicated.

In any case where the Greek form of the word is felt to be obscured it may be added in Greek letters (in brackets) the first time a word occurs, and conversely the exact pronunciation, if it should be of importance for any reason, may be specially indicated.

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[1] The arguments in support of this system will be found in Mr. R. M. Dawkins' paper on 'The Transliteration of Modern Greek' in *B.S.A.* vol. xv.

ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

For the conventions respecting the indication of quotations from ancient and modern authorities, titles of periodical and collective publications, transliteration of inscriptions, and quotations from MSS. and literary texts, contributors are referred to the accompanying notes drawn up by the Editors of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and kindly placed by them at the disposal of contributors to the *Annual.*

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Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; *e.g.* Dittenb. *Syll.*^{2} 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

A.-E.M. = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Instituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.

Berl. Vas.=Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes=British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M. Coins=British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Rings=British Museum Catalogue of Finger-Rings.
B.M. Inscr.=Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Jewellery=British Museum Catalogue of Jewellery.
B.M. Sculpt.=British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.
B.M. Terracottas=British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.
B.M. Vases.=British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A.=Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R.=Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bull. d. I.=Bullettino dell' Instituto.
Busolt=Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.
C.I.G.=Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L.=Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev.=Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr.=Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
C.R. St. Pét.=Compte rendu de la Commission de St. Pétersbourg.
Dar.-Sagl.=Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. *O.G.I.*=Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
Dittenb. *Syll.*=Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Εφ. Ἀρχ.=Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική.
G.D.I.=Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften (or Collitz-Bechtel).
Gerh. *A.V.*=Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A.=Göttingensche Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Head, *H.N.*^{2}=Head, Historia Numorum. Revised Edition, 1910.
I.G.=Inscriptiones Graecae.[1]
I.G.A.=Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb.=Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh.=Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.
J.H.S.=Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Klio=Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
Le Bas-Wadd.=Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Liverpool Annals=Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology of University of Liverpool.
Michel=Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I.=Monumenti dell' Instituto.
Müller-Wies.=Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles.=Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.

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[1] The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows:—

I.G. I. = Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores.
,, II. = ,, ,, aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora.
,, III. = ,, ,, aetatis Romanae.
,, IV. = ,, Argolidis.
,, VII. = ,, Megaridis et Boeotiae.
,, IX. = ,, Graeciae Septentrionalis.
,, XII. = ,, Insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum.
,, XIV. = ,, Italiae et Siciliae.

Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt.=Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil.=Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.
Niese=Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.
Num. Chr.=Numismatic Chronicle.
Num. Zeit.=Numismatische Zeitschrift.
Pauly-Wissowa=Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
Philol.=Philologus.
Ramsay, *C.B.*=Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.
Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*=Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.
Reinach, *Rép. Sculpt.*=S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.
Reinach, *Rép. Vases*=S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints
Rev. Arch. =Revue Archéologique.
Rev. Ét. Gr.=Revue des Études Grecques.
Rev. Num.=Revue Numismatique.
Rev. Philol.=Revue de Philologie.
Rh. Mus.=Rheinisches Museum.
Röm. Mitt.=Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.
Roscher=Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.
S.M.C.=Sparta Museum Catalogue.
T.A.M.=Tituli Asiae Minoris.
Z.f.N.=Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

[ ] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

( ) Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

. . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears on the original, should be represented by a special sign, ⊦.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions.*

( ) Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.

[[ ]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing in the original.

< > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

British School at Athens.

This School (founded in 1886) gives to British Students of Greek Archaeology and Art the opportunity of pursuing their researches in Greece itself, with command of the means which the recent great advances of the science have rendered indispensable.

Athens is now an archaeological centre of the first rank. The architecture of Greece can nowhere else be studied to such advantage; and the concentration in the Athenian museums, of treasures of Antiquity found in Greek soil during the last few decades of years, has made a personal knowledge of those museums in the highest degree desirable for Hellenic scholars.

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[1] In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence at the School at Athens.

June, 1914.

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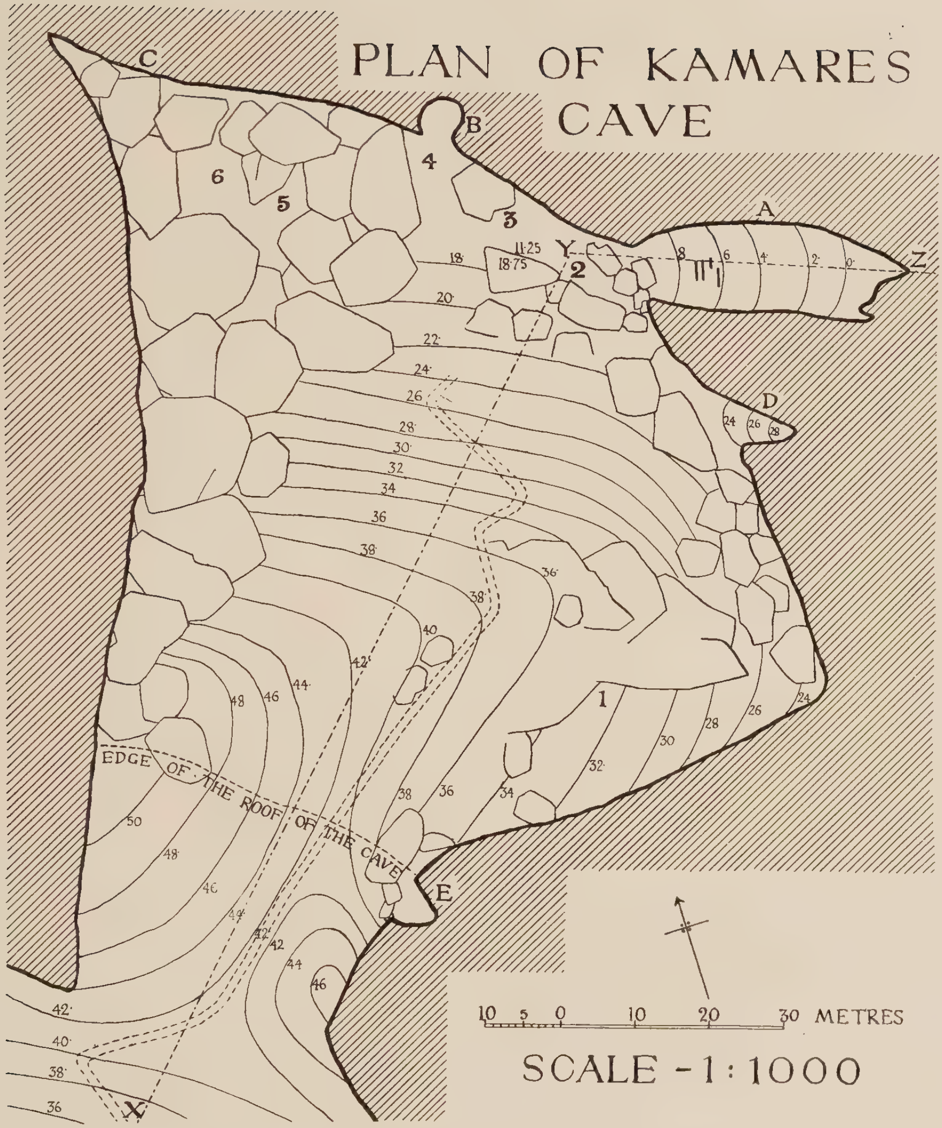
PLAN OF KAMARES CAVE
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EDGE OF THE ROOF OF THE CAVE
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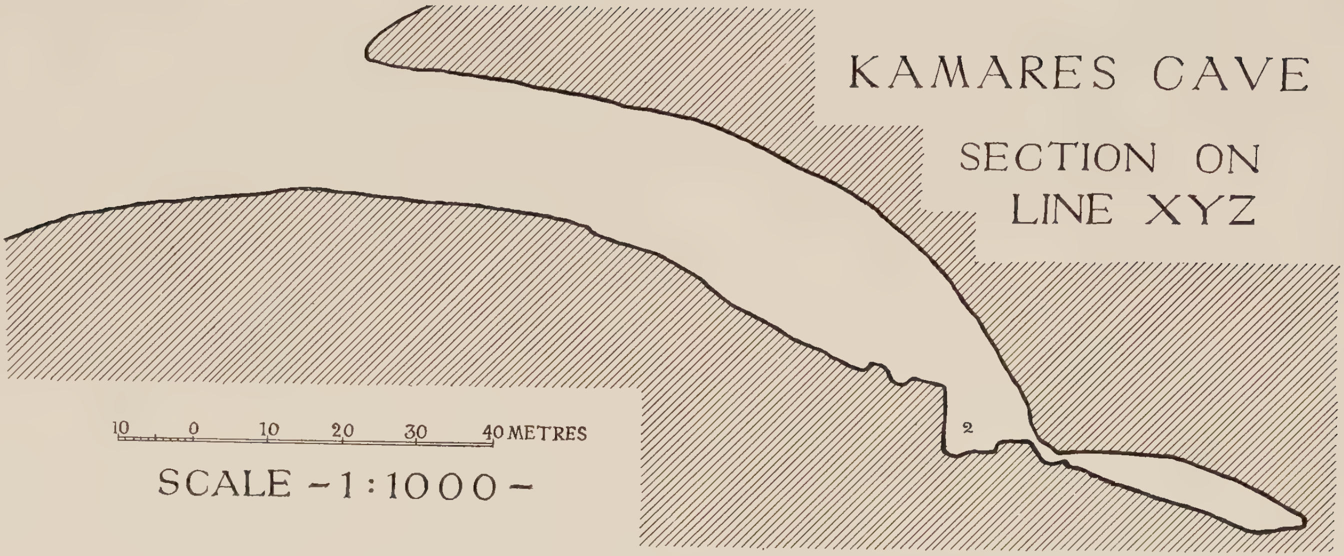
Excavation of the Kamares Cave: Plan of Cave.


KAMARES CAVE
SECTION ON LINE XYZ
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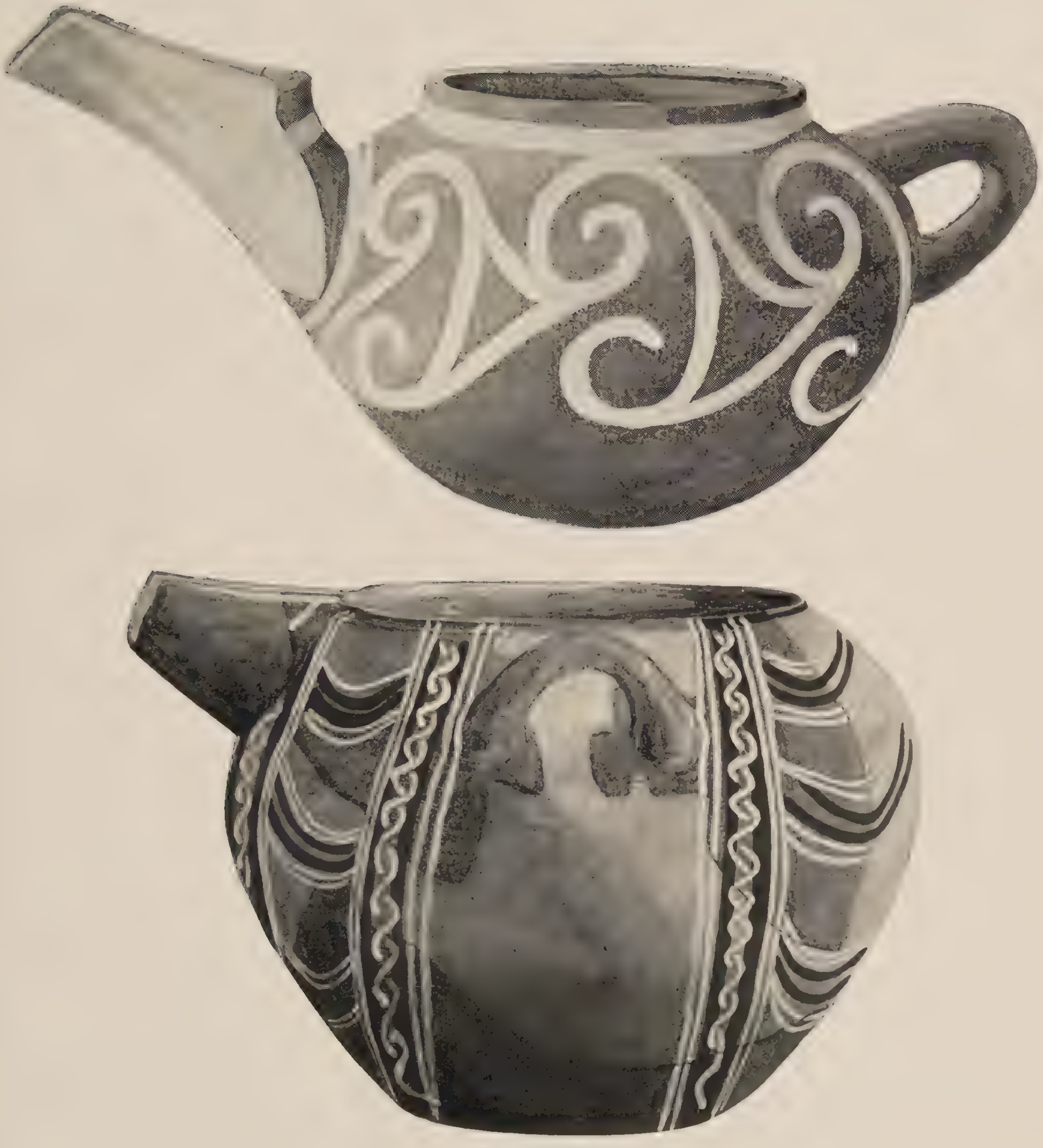
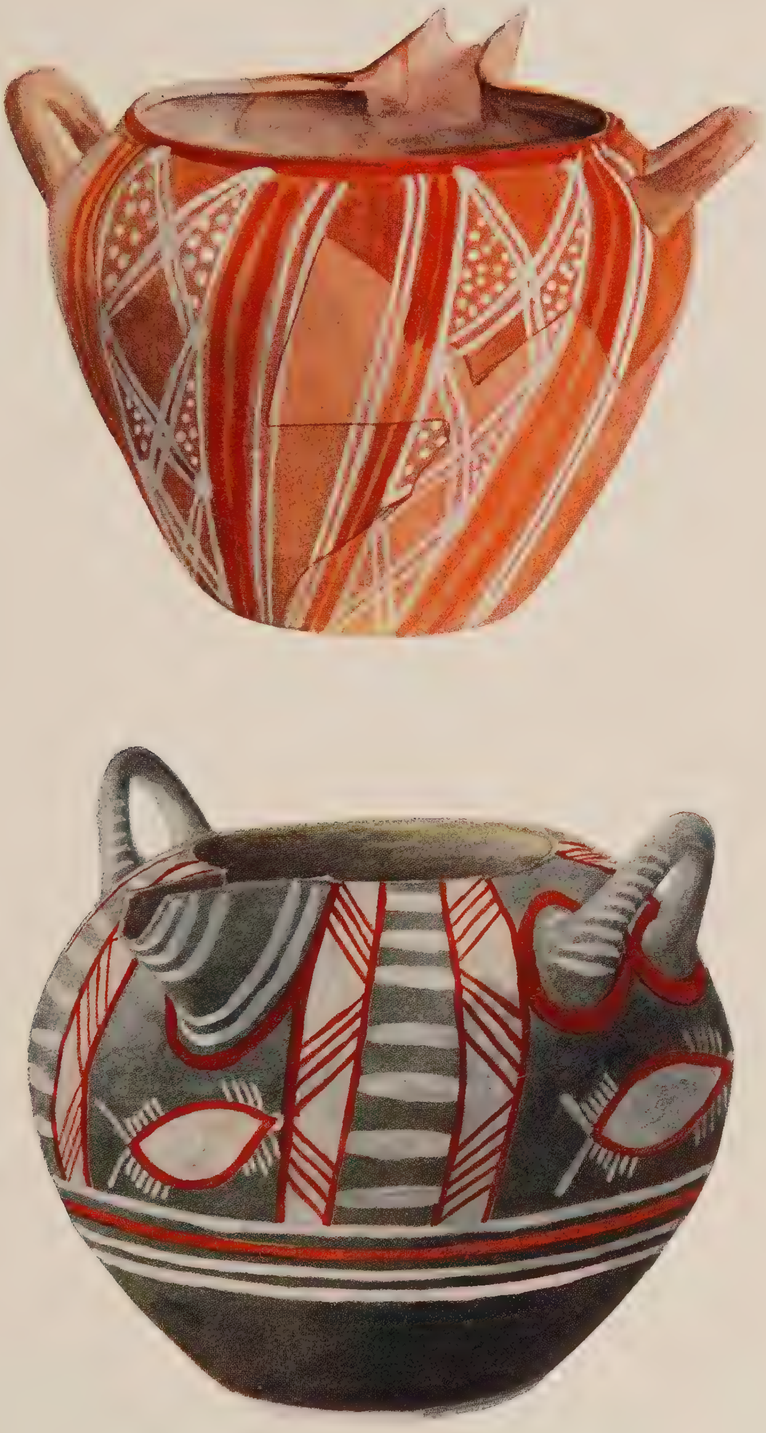
SCALE – 1 : 1000 –

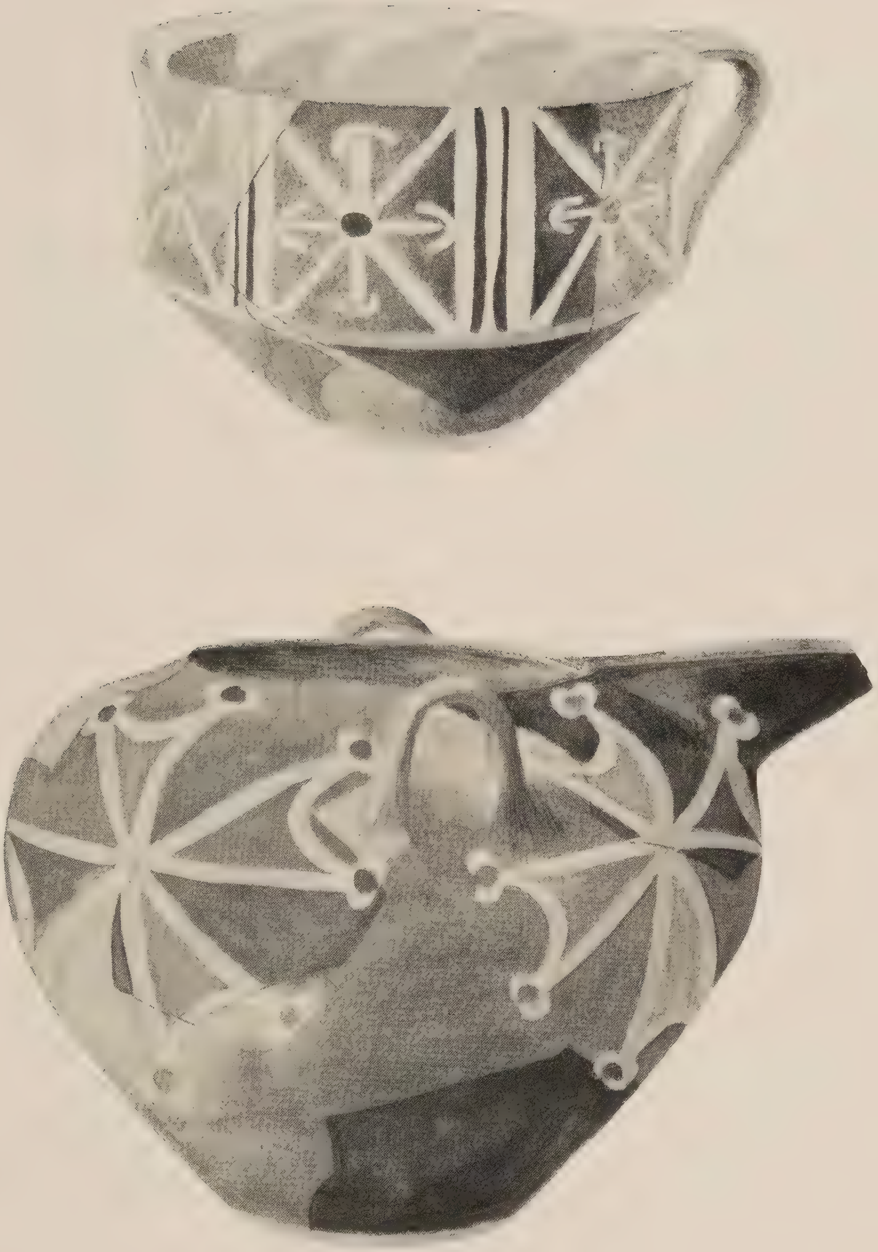
Excavation of the Kamares Cave: Section on Line XYZ in Plate II.



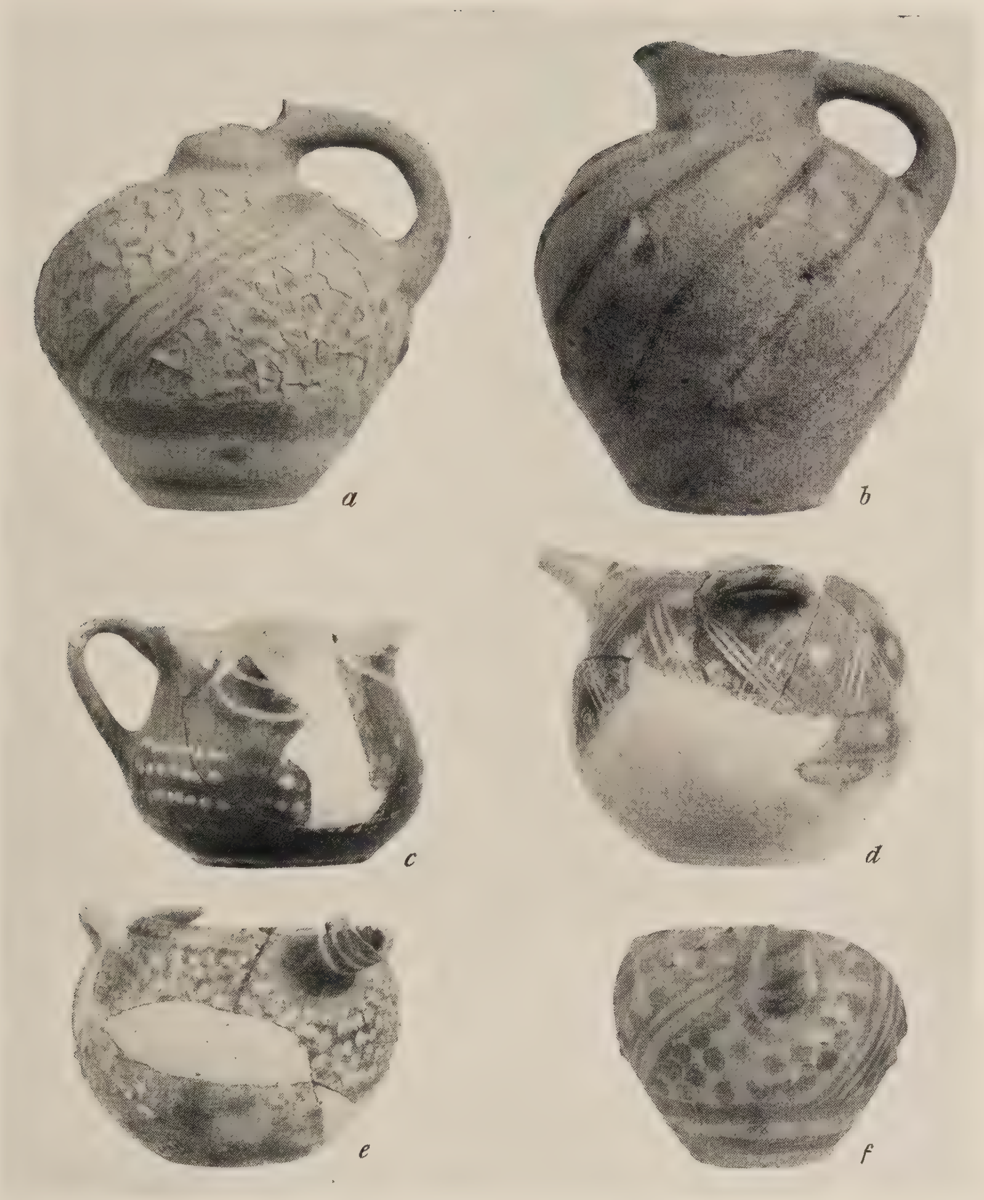
EXCAVATION OF THE KAMARES CAVE: *Above*, EARLY MINOAN VASE; *below*, MIDDLE MINOAN VASE. (Scale 2 : 3.)



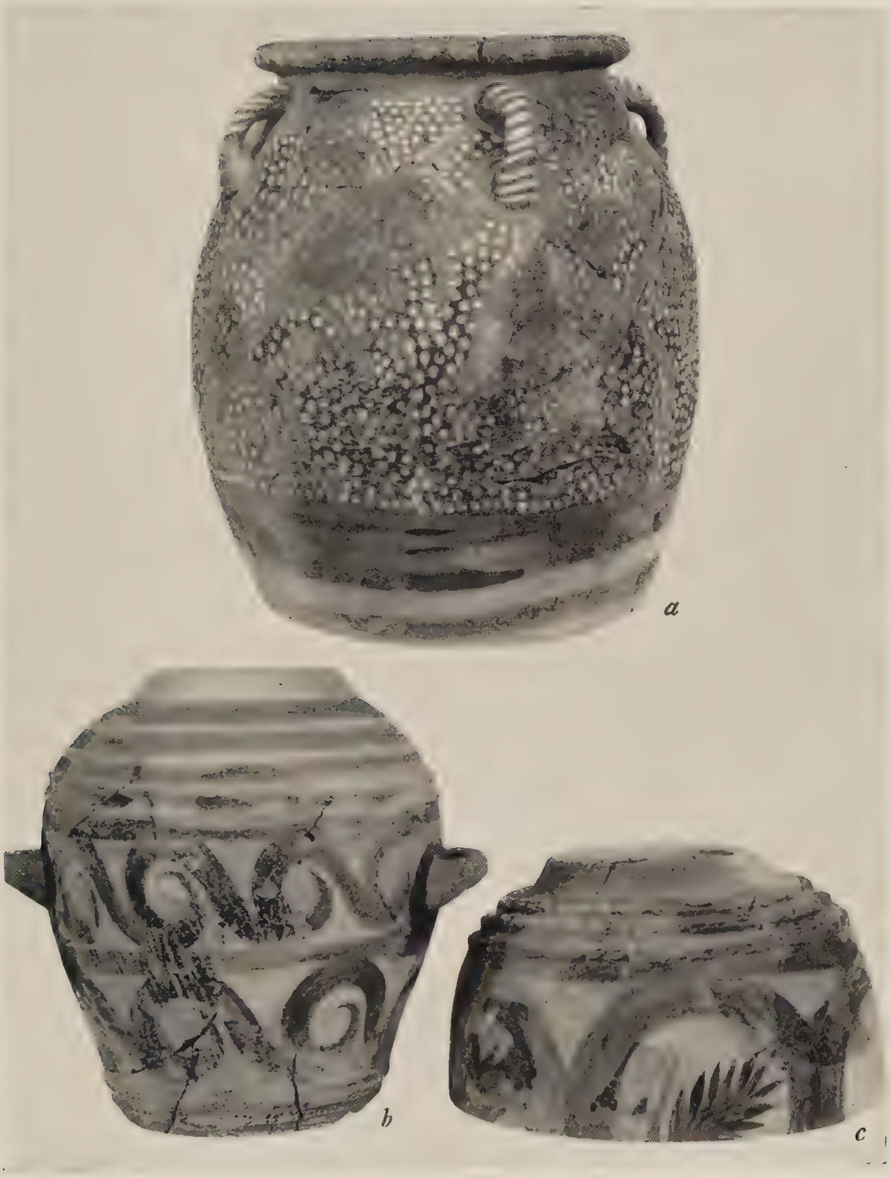
Middle Minoan Vases from the Kamares Cave. (Scale 2 : 3).



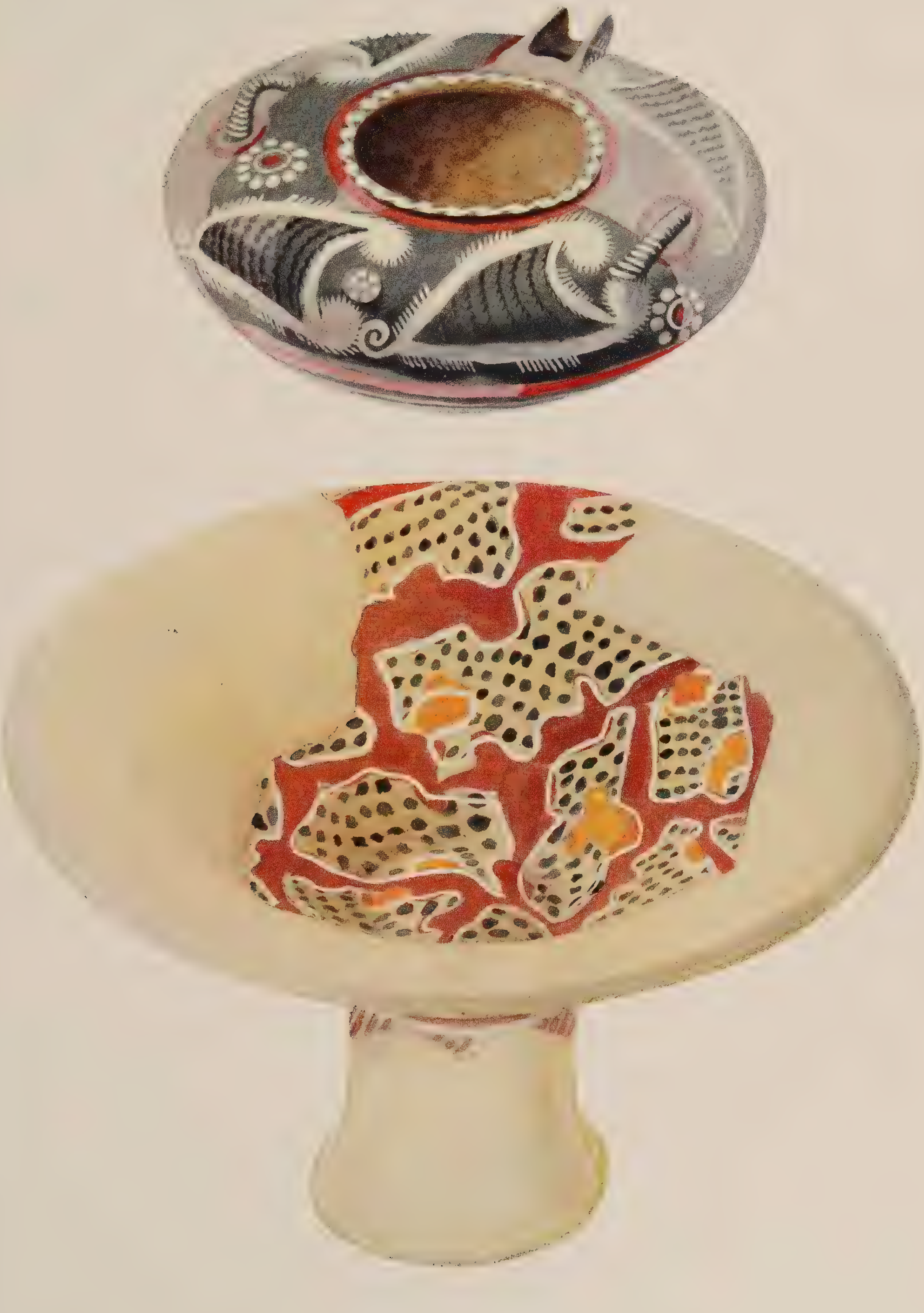
Excavation of the Kamares Cave: Middle Minoan Vases. (Scale 2 : 3.)



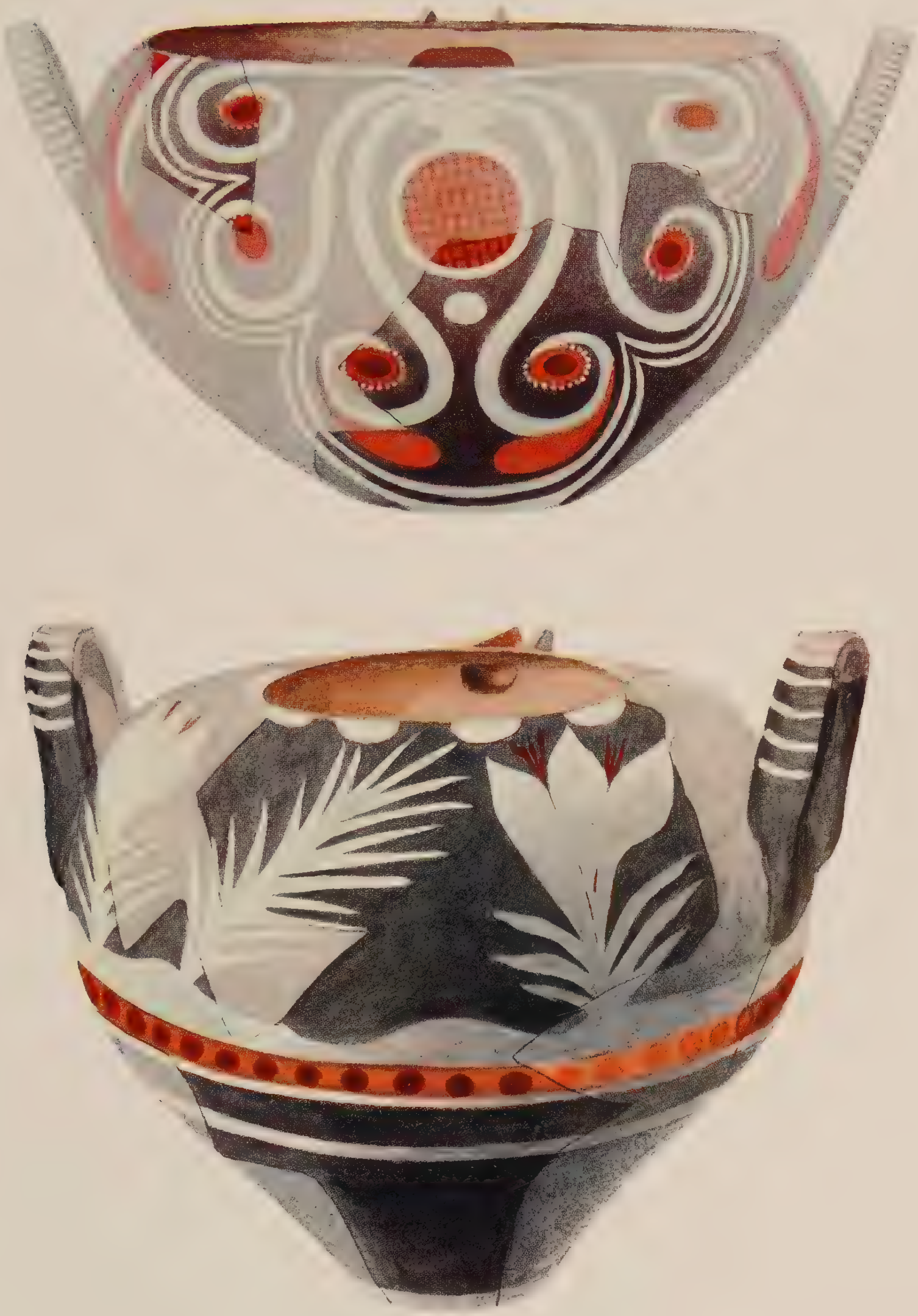
Excavation of the Kamares Cave: Middle Minoan Vases. (Scale 1 : 3.)



Excavation of the Kamares Cave: Middle Minoan Pithoi. (Scale 1 : 6.)



Middle Minoan Vases from the Kamares Cave. (Scale 2 : 3).



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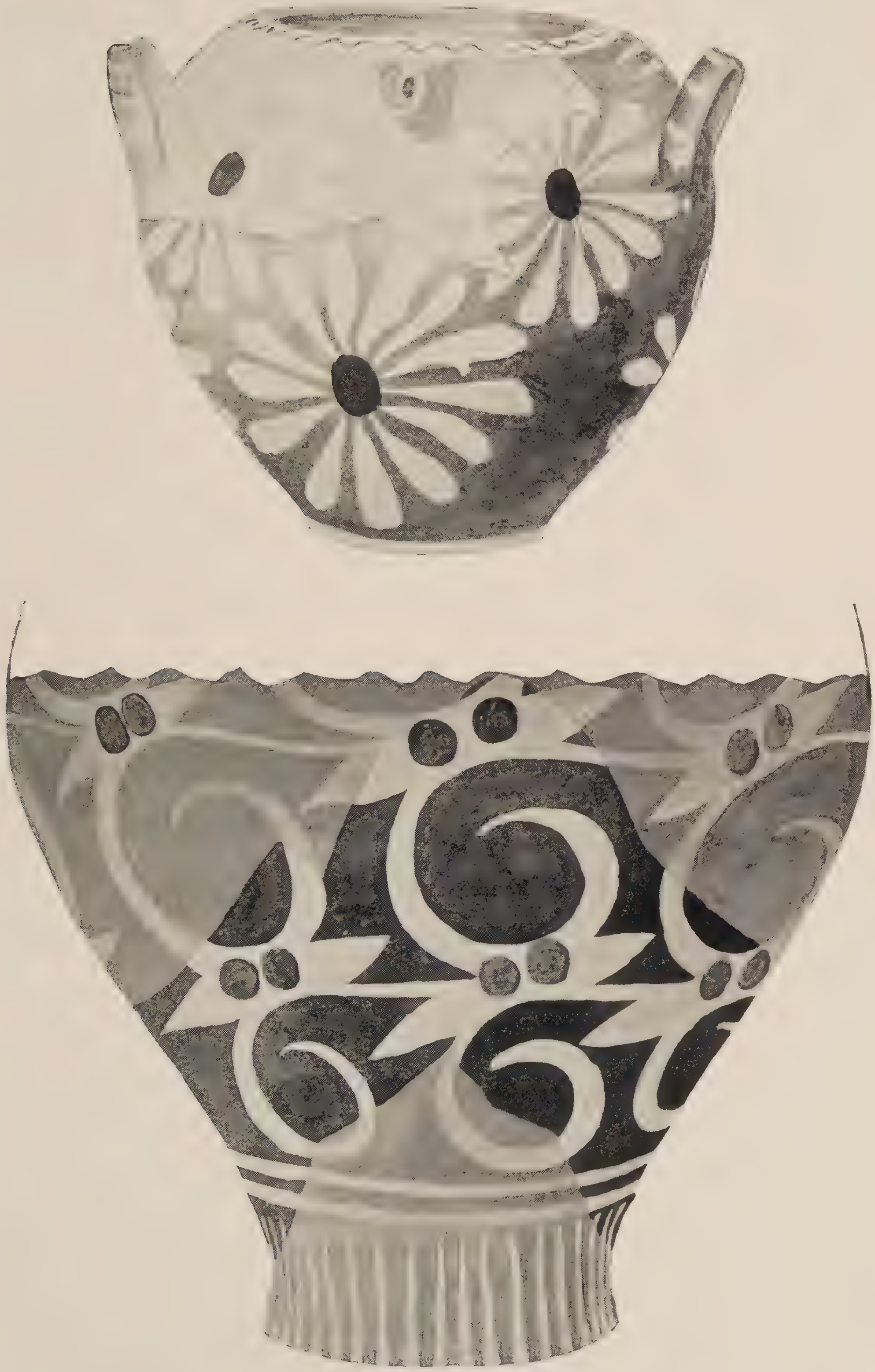

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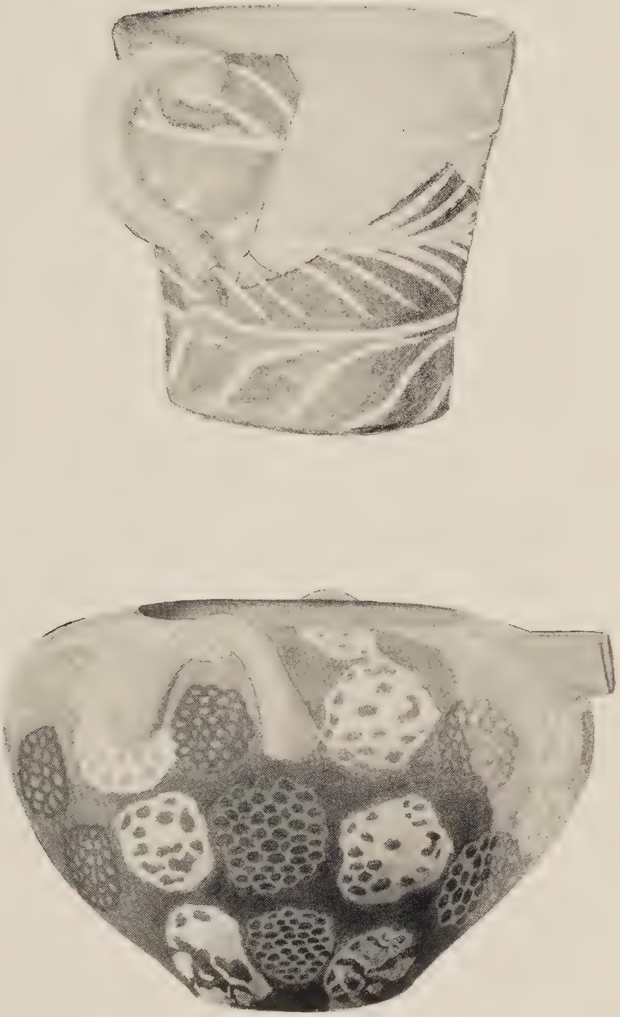
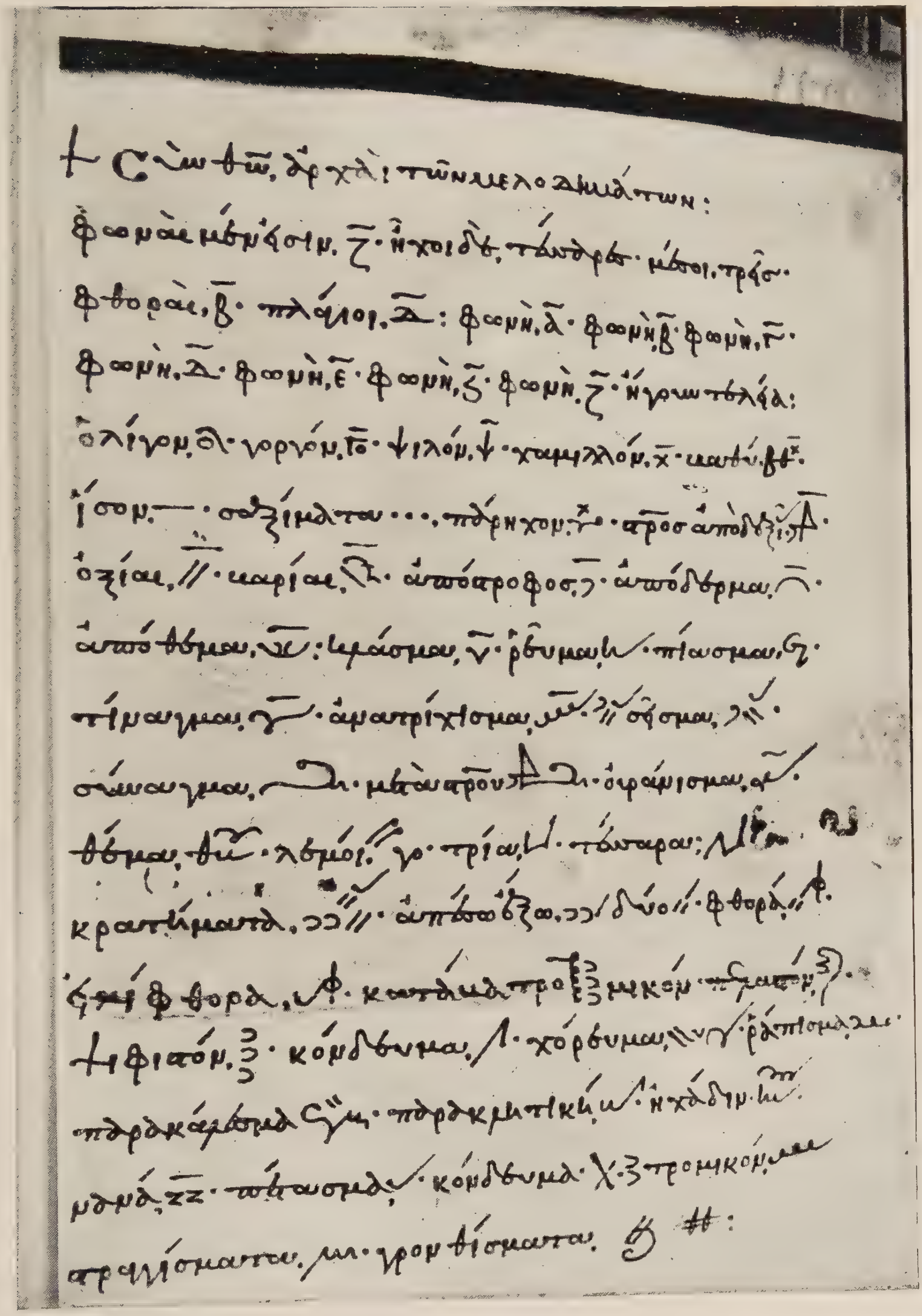
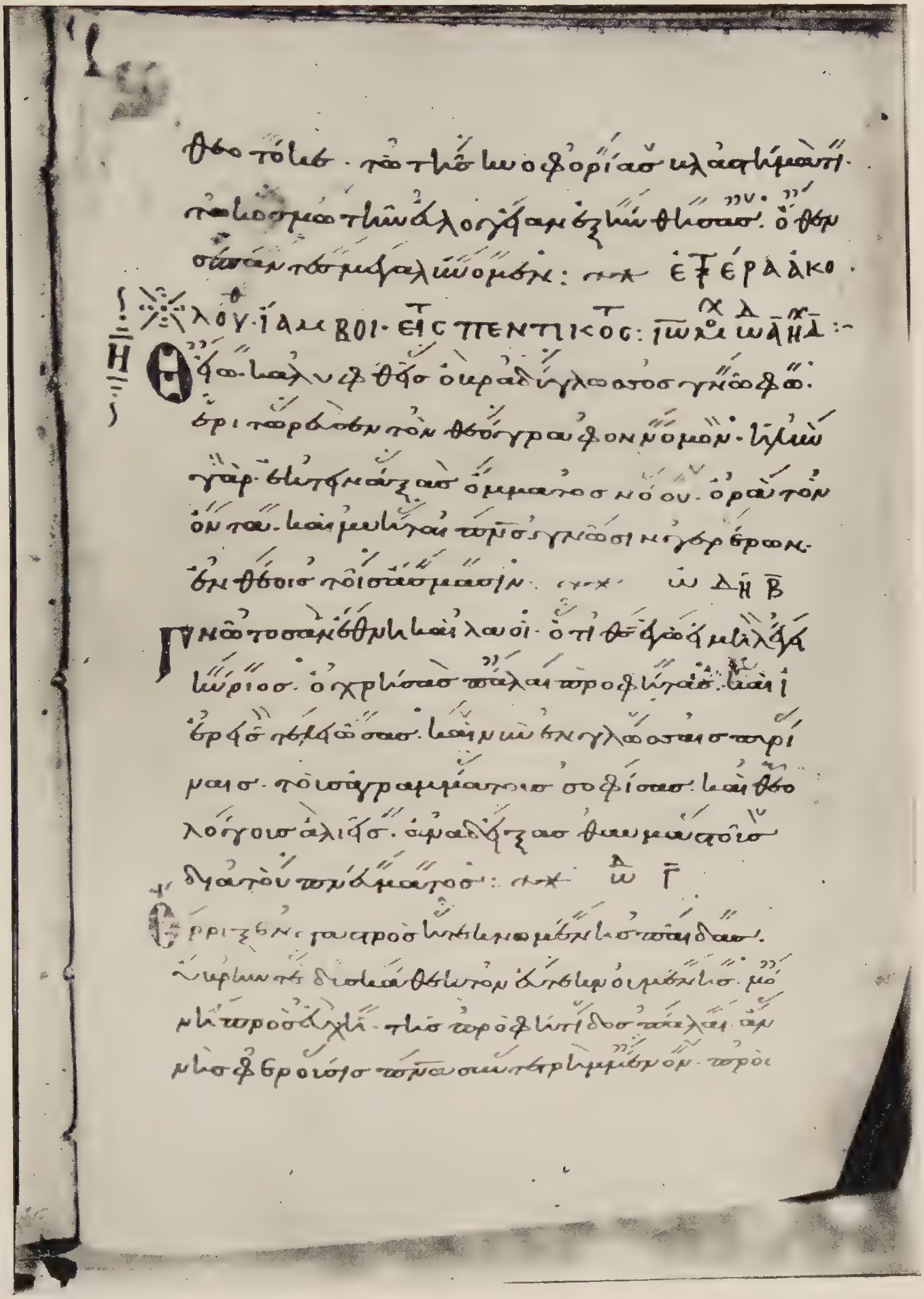


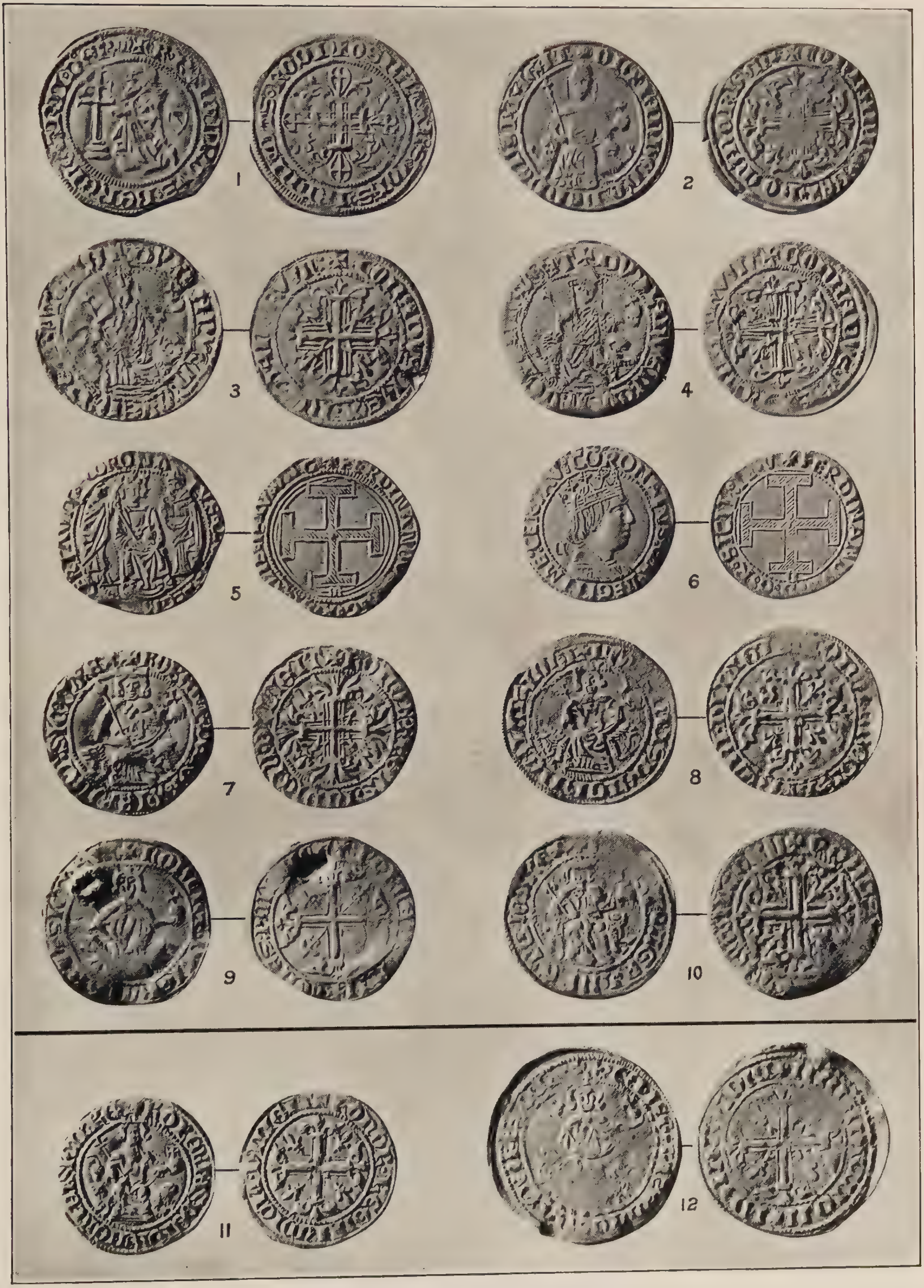
Excavation of the Kamares Cave: Middle Minoan Vases. (Scale 2 : 3.)



FRAGMENT OF A BYZANTINE MUSICAL HANDBOOK: COD. ATHON. LAURAE Γ 67, f. 159.



Leaf of a Byzantine Musical MS. : Cod. Athon. Laurae B 32, f. 113.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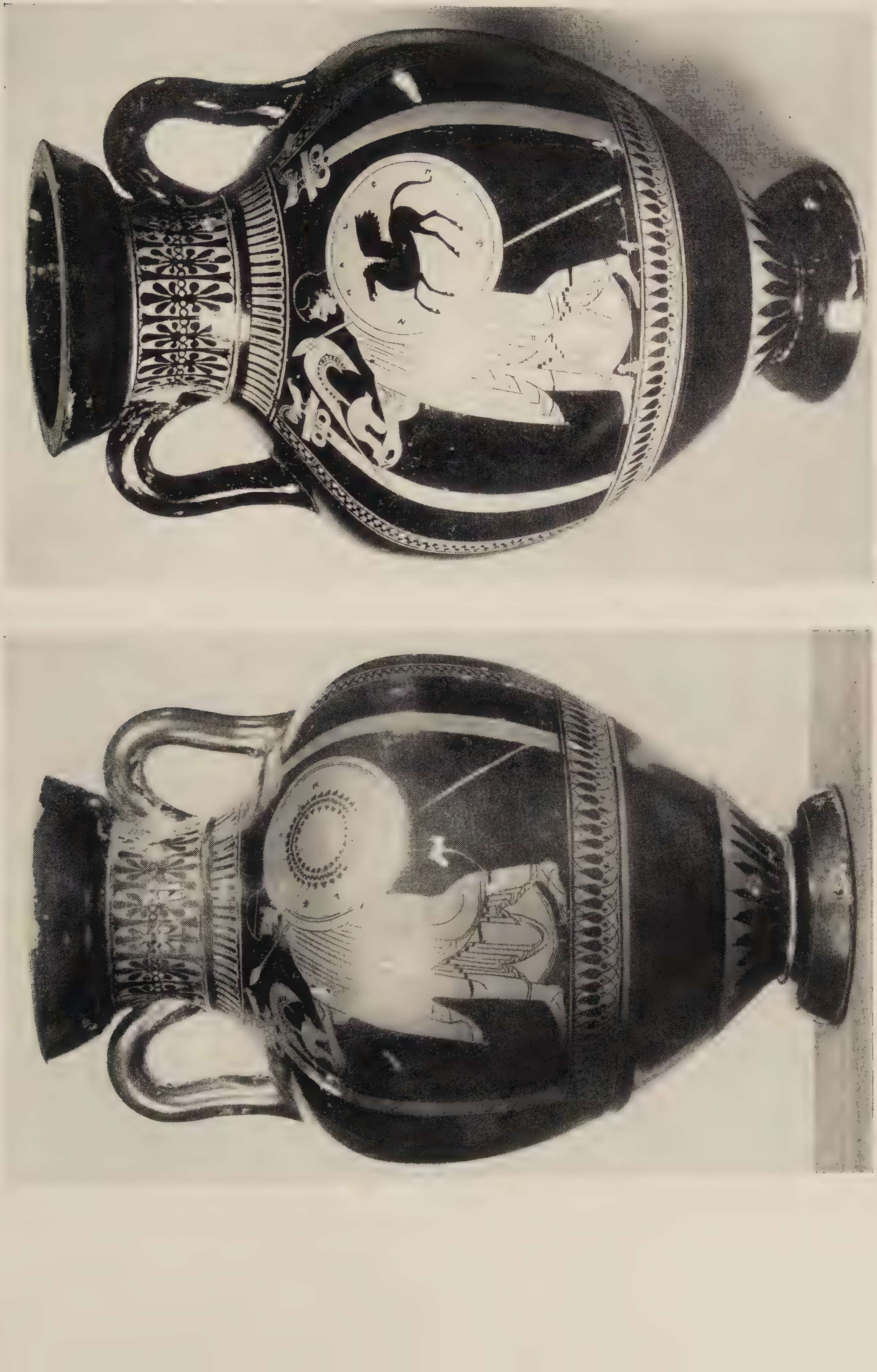
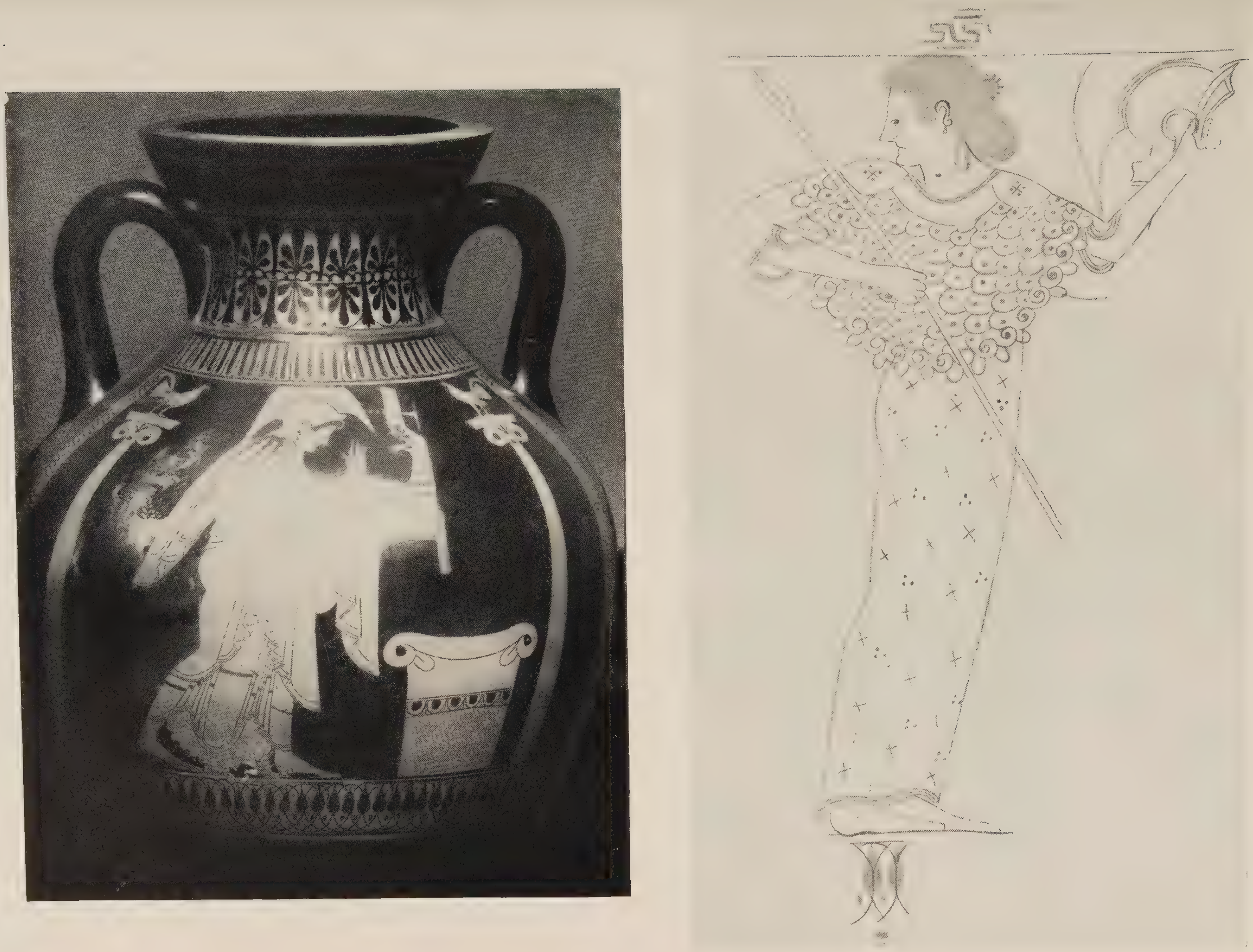
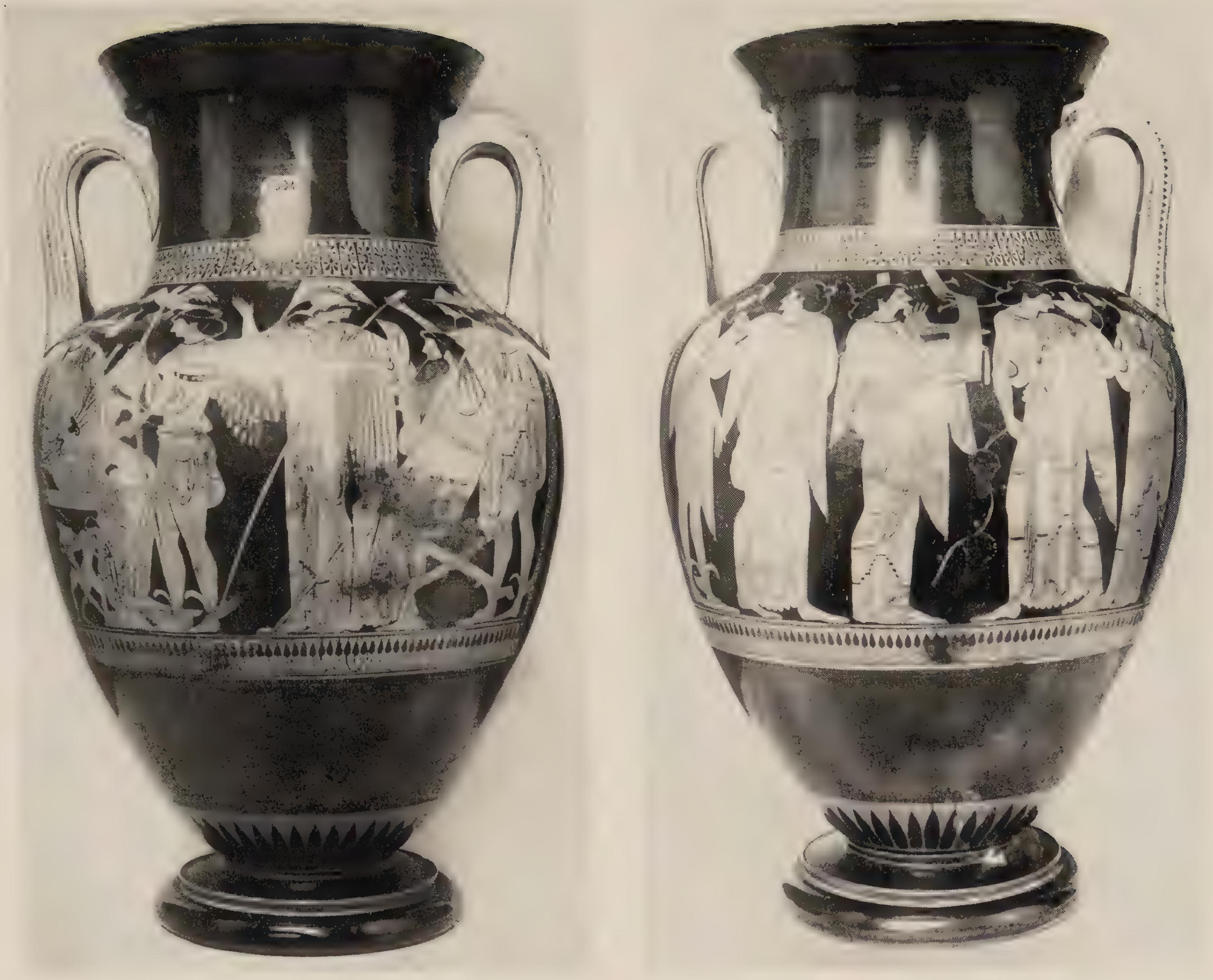
Mediaeval Coins from the Sporades.



The "Nikoxenos Master": Amphora of Panathenaic Shape in the Boston Museum.



The "Nikoxenos Master": 1. Amphora of Panathenaic Shape in Berlin.
2. Figure of Athena from a Hydria in the British Museum (see Plate XIX).



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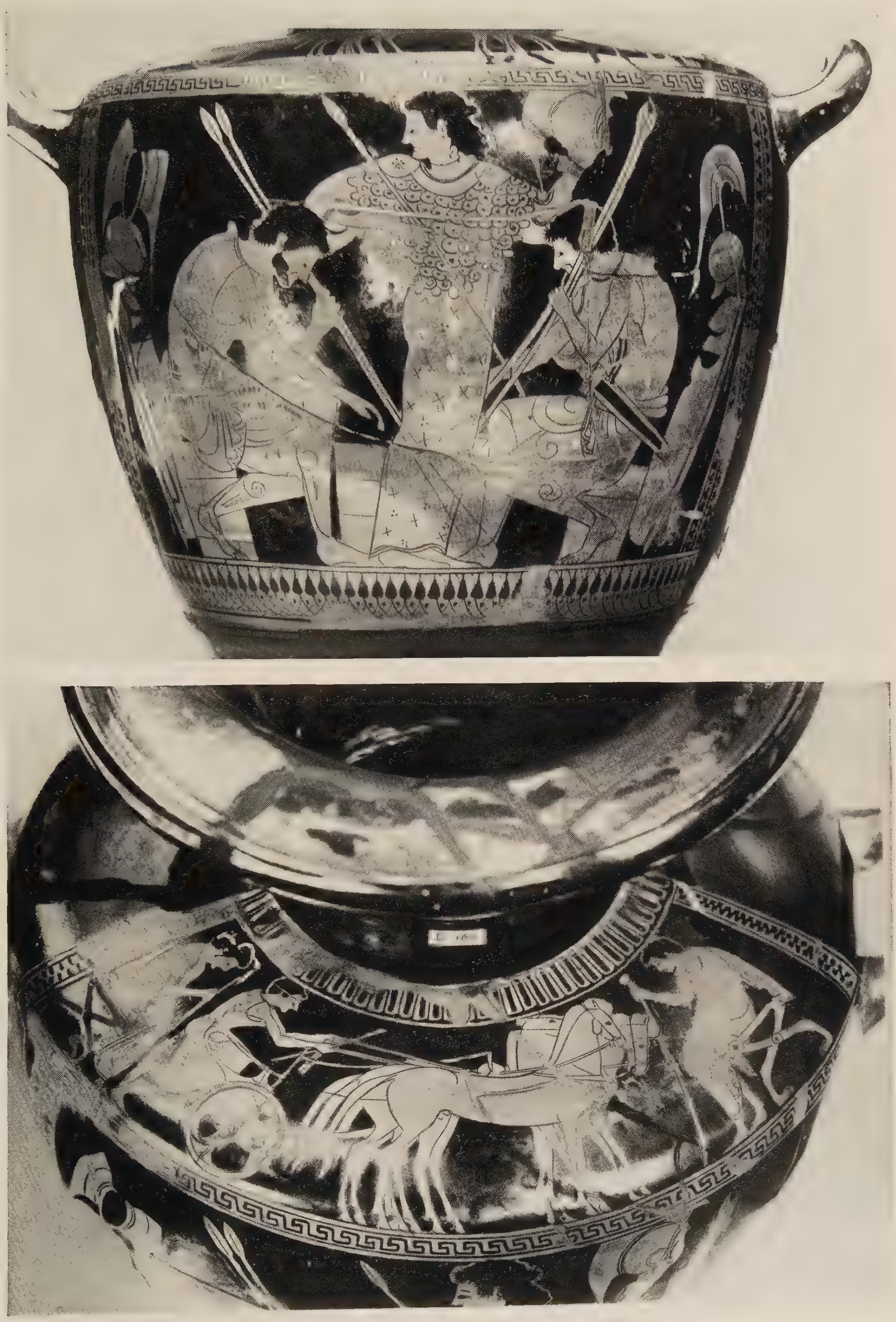

THE "NIKOXENOS MASTER": HYDRIA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (E 160).

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